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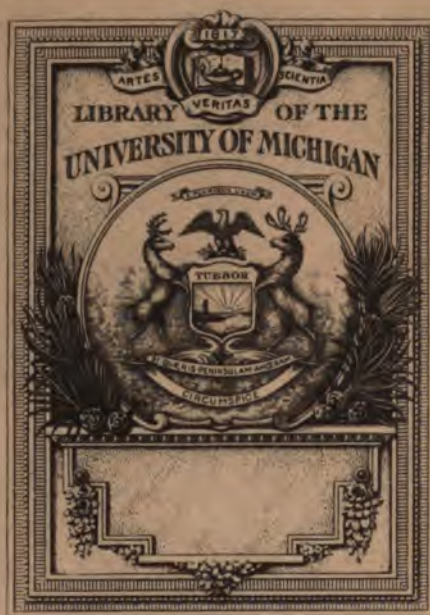
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THE HISTORY OF COLONIZATION



THE
HISTORY OF COLONIZATION

From the Earliest Times to the Present Day

BY
HENRY C. MORRIS

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

New York
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
LONDON: MACMILLAN & CO., LTD.

1900

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**Norwood Press
J. B. Cushing & Co. — Berwick & Smith
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CONTENTS

PART III — *continued*

MODERN TIMES

CHAPTER XVI

PROLOGUE TO ENGLISH COLONIZATION

	PAGE
Importance of the Subject — Multiplicity of Authors — Highest Type of Colonization — Struggle for Supremacy — English Policy — Influence of Spain — Voyages under Henry VIII — English Intercourse with Flanders — Expedition of Willoughby and Chancellor to Russia — Frobisher and the Northwest Passage — Sir Humphrey Gilbert — Earliest English Community in America — Expeditions of Sir Walter Raleigh — Andrew Battel and his Adventures — Drake and Cavendish — International Situation — "The Mother of God" — Early Failures of the English — Civil Strife in England — Similarity to Spain — Agricultural Depression — Characteristics of the English — Their Desires — Contrast with the Spanish — Loss of the Armada — Personality of American Colonists — Lack of Organization — Bravery and Daring of English Sailors	1

CHAPTER XVII

EARLY ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN NORTH AMERICA

First English Settlements in North America — The London and the Plymouth Company — Jamestown — Virginia — The House of Burgesses — First Representative Body in America — Earliest Constitution of Virginia — Colonial Administration — New England Expedition — Situation in the Low Countries — The Puritans — Decision to remove to New England — The Plymouth Colony — First Organization — Other Settlements around Massa-

	PAGE
chusetts Bay — Massachusetts Bay Colony — Its Administration — Seat of Government in the Colony — First Conflict with England — Forfeiture of the Charter — Revolution of 1688 — Charter of 1691 — Subsequent History — Maine — Hostilities between French and English — Purchase by Massachusetts — Rhode Island — Its Foundation and Remarkable Constitution — New Hampshire and Vermont — Connecticut — Importance of its Constitution — Vicissitudes as a Colony — Proprietary Colonies — Maryland — Its Establishment and Annals — William Penn — Acquisition of Pennsylvania — Delaware and New Jersey — The Provincial Colonies — New York under the English — North and South Carolina — Georgia — "The United Colonies of New England" (1643) — Effects of this Union — Governor Andros — England's Dread of American Union — Growth of the English Establishments Prior to the Revolution — Their Economic and Trade Conditions — Proprietary System — Distinction among this Class of Colonies — The Charter Colonies — Methods of Government — Favorable Influence — Land System — Low Taxation and Economical Administration — Participation in the French-Indian Wars — The Labor Question — Indented Servants, Convicts, and Slaves — Relations with the Indians — Contrast with South America — Trade Policies — The Navigation Act — Its Provisions and Effects — Prohibition of Manufactures — Concessions to the Colonists — Commercial Development of the United States after the Revolution — Other British Possessions in North America — The Hudson Bay Company — The Conquest of Canada and Situation immediately Afterward — British Concessions	17

CHAPTER XVIII

EARLY ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN THE WEST INDIES AND THE ORIENT

Early English Expeditions to the West Indies — Barbados — Its Products — Inauguration of the Sugar Industry — Prosperity of the Island — Conquest of Jamaica — Division of the West Indies between France and England — Importance of the Slave Trade — Development of the West Indies — Subsequent Decline — Rise of the French Antilles — Restrictive Trade Policy — British Guiana — England in the Orient — The Original East India Company — Grant of an Exclusive Monopoly — The

CONTENTS

vii

	PAGE
Capture of Ormus—Fall of the First East India Company— Organization of the Second Company—Fusion of the Two Societies—Rise of British Supremacy in India—Indian Ad- ministration—Territorial Extension and Commercial Depres- sion—Oppression of the East Indians—Management of the Company—The Board of Control—Warren Hastings—His Trial and its Results—Assumption of Authority by the Gov- ernment—The English in Africa and Elsewhere—Effects of Colonial Activity upon England—Motives for Emigration— Extension of England's Resources—Prevalence of Monopoly —Rise of Commerce—Comparison with Greece—Growth of English Sea Power—Collapse of the Old System . . .	53

CHAPTER XIX

LATER DEVELOPMENT AND CLASSIFICATION OF ENGLISH DEPENDENCIES

Inexhaustibility of Modern English Colonization—The Newer Doc- trines—Extent of British Dominion—Variety of Theory and Policy—Local Independence of the Colonies—Simplicity of Colonial Organization—Statistical Details of English Coloniza- tion at Various Periods during the Nineteenth Century—Pres- ent Conditions—Classification of English Colonies—Responsible Government, Representative Government, and Crown Colonies	79
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER XX

ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN CANADA

Fall of European Power in America—Season of Revision—The Quebec Act—Canada after the American Revolution—Exodus from the United States—The English and the French Element —Repeal of the Quebec Act—Division of Canada into Two Provinces—Domestic Conflict—Effects of the French Revolu- tion—Demand for Canadian Products—Discontent of the French—Repressive Measures—British Expediency—Canada during the War of 1812—Complaints of the Canadians—The Rebellion of 1837-1838—Sympathy of the English—The Union Act—Local Affairs—Lord Elgin—Selection of the Capital— Inauguration of the Dominion and its Subsequent Growth— Other British American Colonies—Later History of the Hudson

	PAGE
Bay Company — Canadian Wealth — Reasons for Canadian Growth — Restrictive Commercial Policy — Effects of Responsible Government — Nullification of the Navigation Act — Reasons for Federation — Purchase of the Hudson Bay Territory — Statistics — Later Day Questions — Canada and Inter-colonial Federation	94

CHAPTER XXI

ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, AND FIJI

Importance of Australia — Discovery and Exploration — First Reasons for English Interest — Shipment of Convicts to Botany Bay — Desperate Conditions — Difficulties of the Settlers — Methods of Control — Moral and Social Conditions — Governor Bligh — Governor Macquarie — His Reforms — Road Building and Inauguration of the Sheep Industry — Rapid Distribution of the Colonists — Growth of the Settlements — Administrative Policy — Beginnings of Political History — Improvement in Local Conditions — The Deportation System — Condition of the Criminals — Effects on the Free Colonists — Conduct of the Convicts — Artificialness of Australian Life — Free Immigration — Enterprise of Thomas Peel — Western Australia, South Australia, and Victoria — Modification of the Land System — The Wakefield Doctrines — Their Application — Effects on Australia — South Australia — Adoption of the Wakefield Theories and Consequent Panic — Further Development of South Australia — The Torrens Act — Early History of Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand — Modification of the Convict System — Abolition of Deportation in 1853 — Early Situation in New Zealand — First Settlements of the English — Wakefield and his Schemes — Advantages over the Other Colonies — Modifications in Australian Administration — Concession of Responsible Government — Organization of Victoria — Western Australia and the Convict System — Discovery of Gold — The Mining Craze — Growth of Victoria and Melbourne — General Development — Evolution of Political, Moral, and Social Conditions — Distribution of Australian Prosperity — Queensland — Local Administration of New Zealand — The Fiji Islands — History, Present Situation, and Administration — New Guinea — Rivalry between New South Wales and Victoria — Current Questions — The Rabbit Pest — Further Annexation — Friction between Great Britain and Australia —

CONTENTS

ix

	PAGE
The Question of the Selection of Governors—The Financial Crisis of 1891-1892—Comparison of Australian Progress—Prospects for the Future—Present Statistics of Population, Finance, and Trade—Australian Cities—Federation—Early Efforts—Congresses of 1870 and 1881—Conference of 1883—Enabling Act of 1885—Its Provisions—The Federal Council—Further Action—The Australian Federal Convention of 1891—Resolutions of the Premiers (1895)—The Federal Council of 1897—The Constitution—Discussion, Difficulties, and Final Adoption—The Inauguration of Australian Nationality—Participation of Australia in Intercolonial Politics	116

CHAPTER XXII

ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN CAPE COLONY AND SOUTH AFRICA

Contrast with Australia—Seizure of Cape Town by the English—Conditions at that Time—The Dutch Land System—Characteristics of the Boers—Slavery—Religious Fanaticism—Divergent Elements—Final Cession of the Cape to England—Importance of the Cape—First Efforts at English Colonization—Situation Similar to that of Canada—Discontent of the Boers—Abolition of Slavery—Treatment of the Natives—Dissensions between the English and the Boers—Emigration of the Boers to the North—Struggles with the Kaffirs—Domestic Administration—Effort to found a Penal Settlement—Slow Progress of the Colony—Opening of the Suez Canal—Discovery of Diamonds—Inauguration of Responsible Government—The Zulu War—Boer War of 1880-1881—Hostilities with the Basutos—Annexations to the Cape—Statistics of Growth—Agricultural and Commercial Progress—Method of Administration—Dependence of the Cape on Neighboring Development—Natal—Early Events and Subsequent History—The Orange Free State—Its Early Independence—Relations with the Transvaal—Government and Statistics—The South African Republic—Migrations of the Boers—Uprising of the Natives (1876)—Annexation (1877) by Great Britain—The War of 1881—Events of 1898-1899—Renewed Conflict—Importance of the Struggle—Statistics of Development—The Gold Mines—South African Confederation—The South African Company—Organization and Object—Struggles with Lobengula—Conquest of Matabeleland—The Jameson Raid—Territories of the Company—South Rhodesia	165
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XXIII

LATER ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN THE WEST INDIES, THE
BERMUDAS, MALTA, MAURITIUS, AND CEYLON

	PAGE
The Representative Colonies — The West Indies — Situation at Close of Eighteenth Century — Effects of the Navigation Act — The Sugar Industry — Abolition of the Slave Trade — The Labor Question — Competition with Cuba — Extension of English Power — Restrictions on the Sugar Trade — English Consump- tion of Sugar — Decline of the West Indies — Effects of the Abolition of the Slave Trade — Condition of the Negroes — Emancipation — Subsequent Situation — Removal of the Blacks — Reaction on England — Crisis in the West Indies — The Destruction of the Colonial Compact — Concessions to the Planters — Equalization of the Sugar Duties — Statistics of Sugar Exports — Situation in the Various Islands — Decline of Jamaica — Contract Laborers — Trade Conditions — Negro Proprietors — Modification of Colonial Products — Growth of Socialism — Political Situation — West Indian Administration in the Eighteenth Century — Negro Rule — Transformation into Crown Colonies — Later Events and Grant of Representative Government — Present Administration — Statistics of Popula- tion, Finance, and Trade — The Bermudas — History and Sta- tistics — Malta — Mauritius — History and Statistics — Ceylon — History — The Coffee Industry — Its Collapse — Tea Grow- ing — Statistics and Government	196

CHAPTER XXIV

ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN THE CROWN COLONIES AND
PROTECTORATES

The Crown Colonies — Definition — Military Fortresses — West African Establishments — Gibraltar — The Falklands — St. Helena — Ascension and Tristan da Cunha — Aden — Straits Settlements — Labuan — North Borneo — Brunei and Sarawak — Adventures of Sir James Brooke — Hong Kong — Importance of British Naval Stations — Scattered Islands in the Pacific — West Africa — Lagos — Gambia — The Gold Coast — Sierra Leone — Reasons for its Foundation — First English Settle- ment in Africa — Its Early Importance — Recent Extension of the West African Establishments due to Foreign Rivalry — The

CONTENTS

xi

	PAGE
British Royal Niger Company—Berlin African Conference— Delimitation Treaties—Troubles with the Natives—Abolition of the Company—East Africa—Efforts in Zanzibar— Competition with Germany—Uganda—Extension of English Protectorate—The East Africa Company and its Abolition —Revolt in Zanzibar (1896)—Statistics of Zanzibar—Abolition of Slavery—The African Lake Region—Occupation of Egypt—The Struggle in the Soudan—The British in Cyprus .	230

CHAPTER XXV

LATER ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN EAST INDIA

Peculiar Administration of India—Mr. Pitt's Bill—Early Governors-General—Condition of the East Indians about 1800—Extension of British Power—Prolonged Warfare with the Natives—Governor Bentinck—Era of Reforms—Administrative Organization—Parliamentary Action toward the East India Company—Restrictions upon its Activities—Renewal of Charter in 1814—Direction of English Thought to the East—Discussion of 1830-1833—Sympathy with the East Indians—Change of Policy by the Company—Domestic Administration of the Company—The Board of Control—Administration of India—Participation of the Crown—Measure of Robert Peel—Charter of 1833—Abolition of Trade Restrictions—Change of Public Opinion—Charter of 1853—The Indian Mutiny—The Act of 1858 and the Annexation of India to the Crown—Dissolution of the East India Company—India as a Dependency—Its Administration—The Governor-General and the Councils—Administrative Divisions—Proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress (1877)—The Feudatory States—Material, Agricultural, and Industrial Development—Plague and Famine—The Currency Question	255
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XXVI

SUMMARY OF ENGLISH COLONIZATION

General Review of British Colonial Power—Statistics—The Four Great Reforms—Liberal Policies—Effects of the Dependencies upon the Parent State—Imperial Confederation—Fiscal Conditions—Cost and Profit of the Colonies—British Army and Navy—British Colonial Trade	273
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XXVII

MINOR COLONIZATION

	PAGE
Lesser Colonizing Nations — The Scandinavian Races — Their Reasons for Colonization — Iceland — History and Statistics — Method of Administration — Greenland — The Danes in the Orient — Boscover — The East India Company — Its Methods — Denmark in the West Indies — St. Thomas — Sugar and Slavery — Swedish Colonization — Settlements in New Jersey and Delaware — Swedish East India Company — The Swedes in the Mediterranean — In the West Indies — Early Efforts of Prussia and Russia — Peter the Great — Russian-American Fur Company and Alaskan Settlements — Home Colonization of Russia — Interior Development — Expansion of the United States — Germany and Italy — Dispersion of these People — The Germans in Samoa — Recent History — Statistics — The Germans in Oceanica — Purchase from Spain — Prince Bismarck's Colonial Policy — Popular Interest — The Germans in Africa — On the West Coast — Angra Pequena — Dr. Nachtigal's Expedition — The Cameroons and Togoland — The Germans in East Africa and Zanzibar — Statistics of German Colonies — Conditions of their Growth — Colonial Aspirations of Italy — Abyssinia — Menelik and Italian Disaster — Somaliland — The Colony of Eritrea — Present Conditions of Italian Dependencies — Rise of the Congo Free State — The King of the Belgians and Stanley — Efforts of the International Association of the Congo — Organization of the Congo Free State — Belgian Adaptability for Colonization — Characteristics of the People — Prosperity of the Country — Negotiations for the Annexation of the Congo — Development of the Congo — Uniqueness of this Establishment — Dependencies of Austria-Hungary — Turkish Tributary States — Egypt, Bulgaria, and Samos — Chinese Dependencies — The Partition of China .	278

CHAPTER XXVIII

CONCLUSION

General Statistics of Colonization — Distinctive Features and noteworthy Peculiarities — Modern Colonies Self-supporting — Problems of Government — Colonization in History — Rise of Liberty — Opportunity for Further Improvement	318
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

CONTENTS

xiii

APPENDIX

	PAGE
BIBLIOGRAPHY	325
INDEX TO BIBLIOGRAPHY	356
GENERAL INDEX	376

CHAPTER XVI

PROLOGUE TO ENGLISH COLONIZATION

ANY complete history of English colonization must be almost as extensive as the record of the rise of British prestige within the last three hundred years. Brief study demonstrates the importance of the subject to be as universal as the effects of this activity upon Great Britain and her colonies, past and present, have been far-reaching. The magnitude and significance of this world-wide realm are daily manifest. Wherever thought wanders, eyes turn, or footsteps are directed throughout this earthly universe, the flag of Britain, the emblem of sovereignty, is not far distant. Under the Union Jack the American Indian, the negro of Africa, Australia, and the West Indies, the heterogeneous and numerous peoples of East India, the Malays, the Hotentots, the Polynesians, the Chinese, and several other races inferior in the scale of humanity, live, labor, and die.

Comprehensive treatises describe and discuss every conceivable phase of this topic, political, economic, social, and religious; for to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, from the highest to the lowest rank, the colonies are objects of profound solicitude. The prospective emigrant views these remote lands as possibly the place of his future residence, while the stay-at-home relies upon them as the markets for the products of his handicraft and skill, and not the less as the sources of his consequent profits and wealth. With the aim of satisfying this general thirst for knowledge, a large number of books, both theoretical and practical, have been published. It would, therefore, be absurd to pretend, within a few pages, to be exhaustive; the most that can be done here is to touch upon the more salient features, and then refer the

interested reader and assiduous student to those special works, in which he will find particular questions considered in detail.

Englishmen, to-day, as throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century, represent the best type in the elaboration and application of methods of colonization. The chapters recounting the modern colonial experiences of other states are, in a considerable measure, introductory to the following narrative. It has been already observed how most of the efforts heretofore made to found enduring colonial empires have proved futile; as well as how in the majority of instances, when misfortune overwhelmed others in their careers, England was the gainer. To this extent the history of her development beyond the seas is the complement of the annals of her rivals; the losses as sustained by other nations were frequently to her profit. Portugal, Spain, Holland, and France, one by one saw their glories grow dim before the rising light of English supremacy.¹ With Portugal, England came little in direct conflict; its power, under the blows of Spain and Holland, had vanished before the latter had seriously entered the lists; but with Spain, Holland, and France, England desperately fought single-handed for the mastery of the oceans. Spain held first rank until the epoch of the ill-fated Armada; then for a brief period the position was open. Holland, by brilliancy of action, soon obtained the coveted prize; for long years the struggle between this republic and France was bitter, but finally the balance inclined toward the French. Their ascendancy, if admitted, was certainly of short duration. Scarcely had England assured the decline of the Netherlands, when events precipitated the armed contest with Napoleon for the control of the world's markets. Since the peace of 1815 the predominance of England on the deep has been unchallenged and unchecked. On the ruins of others' splendor England has builded. Taught by their errors and cautioned by their reverses, the present mistress of commerce has endeavored to avoid the mistakes and correct the wrongs of her predecessors in this line of labor. The watch-

¹ Caldecott, "English Colonization and Empire," 27-43.

word of policy has been: construct, organize, never exhaust, but rather strengthen, the dependency, let it cost the mother country what it may. How different from the doctrine of Spain, which has elsewhere been characterized as "the profit of the parent state at all hazards, whatever be the loss to the colony." In this review it will inevitably appear how in the course of time England has exemplified and practised the more rational principles of colonization.¹

This race seems first to have been influenced by Spain toward thoughts of trade and settlement in the West. In 1497, it is true, John Cabot had, on his own initiative, arrived off the shores of Newfoundland and effected some further exploration of the regions around the mouth of the St. Lawrence;² in company with his son Sebastian he had again visited these coasts in 1498. Other navigators had also, in the name of England, made subsequent voyages,³ of which the reports extant are very meagre, but the first expedition exclusively equipped by Englishmen was not undertaken until 1527. Bristol, the great seaport town of those days,⁴ had intimate relations with Spain. Among its rich merchants was a certain Robert Thorne, who had lately returned from Seville, the centre of Spanish commerce. By his urgent representations King Henry VIII was induced to despatch from the Thames two ships for the purpose of discovery.⁵ Unfortunately, one

¹ For an excellent account of the development of English colonial institutions as contrasted with those of other nations, cf. Fiske, "Beginnings of New England," Ch. I, entitled "The Roman Idea and the English Idea," 1-49; also Payne, 22-31, 98, 102.

² For brief account of the first voyage of John Cabot to "the kingdom of the Great Khan," cf. Fiske, "Discovery of America," II, 2 et seq. The same author gives a concise biography of Sebastian Cabot, *ibid.* II, 7; cf. also Bancroft, I, 10 et seq.; Hume, "History of England," III, 75-76.

³ Soon after 1500, the king of England (Henry VII) "expended £14,000 in building one ship called *The Great Harry*. She was, properly speaking, the first ship in the English navy. Before this period, when the prince wanted a fleet, he had no other expedient than hiring or pressing ships from the merchants." — HUME, III, 76.

⁴ Even as late as 1685 Bristol retained its supremacy as the first seaport in England. For a description of the city and its commerce at that date, cf. Macaulay, "History of England," I, 306-308.

⁵ The influence of the Pope retarded English enterprises. As Bancroft says, "Besides, Henry VII, as a Catholic, could not wholly disregard the bull of the

of these vessels was lost and the enterprise was without result. The next venture, directed and personally conducted, in 1536, by a man named Hore, met a worse fate. After being on the verge of cannibalism for want of food, the survivors were only rescued by the opportune assistance of a French fleet.¹ English traders, likewise, about this time, 1554, reached Guinea, from which two of them, in foreign service, had been compelled by Portugal to withdraw as early as 1481. Henry VIII and his courtiers esteemed their own pleasures more than geographic progress. This lack of interest on the part of the Crown, together with the ill success of the few attempts noted, fully accounts for the popular apathy. The people were not yet aroused to the possibilities of the New World.

Circumstances nevertheless soon occasioned an effort in another quarter. Most of the business transacted by the English in that age was with the Low Countries; with Flanders there was active commercial intercourse. The Flemish had long dealt with the Venetians and were then in close touch with the Portuguese; through these two intermediaries they received large quantities of wares from East India, many of which goods, crude or manufactured, were in the end sold to England.² With the purchase of these articles, some general conception of the location of their place of origin was acquired; and little by little the desire directly to obtain them arose. The English naturally preferred to find some new road to these richer realms than to sail to the then apparently barren shores of the western continent. Therefore, in 1553, at the suggestion of Sebastian Cabot, officially the "Grand Pilot of England," a squadron of three merchantmen was sent in search of the northeast channel to the so-called "Cathay."³ Sir Hugh Willoughby was in charge,

Pope, which gave to Spain a paramount title to the North American world; "later, "by the repudiation of Catherine of Aragon Henry VIII sundered his political connection with Spain and opened the New World to English rivalry." — "United States History," I, 60-61.

¹ Bancroft, I, 61.

² *Supra*, I, 301-303 and notes.

³ For Cabot's part in the attempt to reach China by a northeast passage, cf. Winsor, III, 6, 30; Mill, "History of British India," I, 5.

and Richard Chancellor was captain of one of the ships. Two of these were stranded on the coast of Lapland, where, after terrible sufferings, their entire crews, including the commander-in-chief, perished. Chancellor, more highly favored by destiny, gained the Russian port of Archangel and, hearing of a famous king at Moscow, proceeded inland to that city.¹ There he laid the foundation, not only for profitable traffic with that country, but also opened another source for the supply of Oriental products.² In 1558 an English adventurer, Anthony Jenkinson, followed in the footsteps of Chancellor, visiting Moscow, thence penetrating to the Caspian Sea, embarked upon it, and ultimately arrived at Bokhara. Although Jenkinson achieved a long and hazardous journey, coming back safely to England in 1559, still his experiences proved the impracticability of trade by this route. Finally, after these vain, but not absolutely useless,³ exertions, mariners, despairing of progress in this direction, again set their faces to the westward.

John Frobisher sailed, in 1576, with two vessels to seek the northwest passage;⁴ upon his return a casual incident awoke great enthusiasm. The wife of one of the sailors happened to throw into the fire a pebble which her husband had brought with him; it glittered, and the rumor spread that gold had been found. In May, 1577, Frobisher started on a second voyage, with three ships, under the patronage of Queen Elizabeth; two hundred tons of worthless stones were actually collected and transported to England.⁵ Frobisher again, in 1578, weighed anchor for those regions which were known as Friesland, but probably formed the southern portion of Greenland.⁶

¹ Bancroft, I, 62.

² Hume, IV, 365.

³ For subsequent trade with Russia and Turkey in time of Elizabeth, cf. *ibid.* IV, 367-368.

⁴ A good account of the northwest explorations will be found in Winsor, III, Ch. III.

⁵ Notwithstanding the influence of the desire for gold as manifested in this expedition, those of Sir Walter Raleigh, and some others, still it cannot be said to have been the prime motive for these voyages. The views and opinions of such men as Hakluyt, Bacon, and Raleigh himself clearly testify to the contrary.

⁶ Heeren, 88 (par. 12 note).

He had this time fifteen craft, and carried with him one hundred colonists, who proposed to fix themselves in that vicinity. Climatic conditions alone prevented the fulfilment of this plan.¹ Within the same century Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Adrian Gilbert, and John Davis likewise undertook to reach India by way of the northern extremity of America;² while of course these endeavors were futile in their main object,³ still Sir Humphrey Gilbert created one of the earliest—although not permanent—English communities in the western hemisphere at St. John's, Newfoundland (1583).⁴

On his homeward trip Sir Humphrey was lost at sea; his mantle, however, fell upon one not less ardent than he in the pursuit of discovery and exploration.⁵ Sir Walter Raleigh, his half-brother, in 1584 secured the transfer of all patents to himself.⁶ The first expedition immediately organized under his authority, after cruising among the West Indies, visited Virginia. Some primitive barter was transacted with the Indians. The captain's flattering report occasioned the despatch of a second fleet in the following year. A few settlers then left on the coast were, by the arrival of Drake in 1586, barely rescued from starvation.⁷ Hardly had they abandoned their establishment when another squadron, equipped by Raleigh and under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, appeared. He landed a new colony, the members of which in turn perished. A third settlement, made in 1587,

¹ For brief account of the voyages of Frobisher, cf. Bancroft, I, 63-65.

² Heeren, 88 (par. 12 note).

³ Bancroft, I, 66-99; Leroy-Beaulieu, 95.

⁴ For this expedition, cf. M. A. Thomson, "Life and Times of Sir Walter Raleigh," 28-31.

⁵ The desire of the English to find a passage to China either by the northeast or the northwest was largely the result of their objection to exporting bullion for purposes of trade. It was thought that in northern climates it would be possible to find a market for English cloth, and that therefore trade could be carried on by direct exchange of products without the necessity of exporting bullion; cf. Cunningham, "Growth of English Industry and Commerce (Modern Times)," 28.

⁶ Cf. M. A. Thomson, "Life and Times of Sir Walter Raleigh."

⁷ For some account of this settlement and Drake's expedition against the West Indies, cf. Hume, IV, 210-211; more at length, Bancroft, I, 69-75; Thomson, 32-33, 50-55; Southey, "West Indies," I, 208, 203-208.

was also entirely destroyed. After managing seven voyages, reasonable in their aims, sensible in their execution, and fairly successful in their results, Sir Walter Raleigh was seized with the fanatical idea of finding El Dorado of Spanish fiction,¹ supposed to be located in the interior of South America. He, having convinced the English cabinet of the plausibility of his scheme, sailed in 1595, accompanied by five ships, for Guiana. He called at Trinidad, assured the Indians of his hostility to the Spaniards, — also their enemies, — and then approached the continent. While he himself stayed in the estuary of the Orinoco, most of his party ascended the river several hundred miles, and pushed farther inland. Raleigh of course failed to bring back with him to Europe any token of gold.² The disasters in Virginia and Guiana accomplished the downfall of this really great benefactor to the world, who, by his generosity, persistency, influence, and skill did much to familiarize his countrymen with a knowledge of America.³

About the same epoch as Raleigh was striving to found a colony in Virginia, Andrew Battel, a lone Englishman, was a prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards in Africa, and Sir Francis Drake was circumnavigating the globe. The adventures of the former were thrilling. Leaving London in 1589, on roving bent, Battel was captured off Brazil. Thence he was deported to Angola, and there held in captivity until 1602, when he escaped; finally reaching England, in 1605, he disseminated much information of the districts with which he had become acquainted. Queen Elizabeth had meanwhile chartered a corporation of Exeter merchants (1588) for trade with Senegal and Gambia; but, although from time to

¹ For Raleigh's attempts at colonization, cf. Winsor, III, Ch. IV; for his search for El Dorado, *ibid.* 116-120; for many details, also Southey, I, 218 et seq.

² Hume, IV, 288; Heeren, 89 (par. 14 note). Twenty-three years later, after having passed thirteen years in the Tower, Raleigh again succeeded in inducing King James I to let him make another voyage to Guiana in search of the gold which he claimed to know existed there. The trip was made, but in the end led to his execution, Hume, IV, 448-452; Thomson, "Raleigh," 213-235; Southey, I, 247.

³ Bancroft, I, 75-79.

time reports of gold and fabulous wealth filled England, little was done until 1618, the date of the organization of a second company.

The results of Sir Francis Drake's enterprise were the most remarkable.¹ He started from Plymouth, December 13, 1577. Turning his prows first southward, he ran along the shores of Africa, then across the southern Atlantic to the mouth of La Plata; subsequently through the Straits of Magellan and off the west coast of South America until, after various perils, he had penetrated for some distance into the northern Pacific; thence he betook himself to the Moluccas, and, after rounding the Cape of Good Hope, arrived home on September 26, 1580.² Before the end of the sixteenth century Thomas Cavendish had performed a similar exploit. Both these navigators came back with property taken from Spanish prizes seized en route, and the members of their crews recited extravagantly exaggerated stories of the opulence of the Orient.³

The situation of international politics at this time should not be forgotten. England was at war with Spain, while the latter controlled nearly all the Eastern trade until the destruction of its Armada, in 1588, left the nation incapable of maintaining its supremacy on the seas.⁴ Portugal, by its subjection to Spain, and Holland, by its long struggle for freedom, were the one prevented from, the other handicapped in, carrying on any considerable commerce. The English had continued to be chiefly supplied by the Venetians down to 1587, but their last

¹ For voyages of Hawkins and Drake, cf. Winsor, III, Ch. II; also Southey, "West Indies," I, 190-208, 221.

² Heeren, 88 (par. 12 note); for the treasure he took en route from the Spaniards and the reception accorded him upon his return to England, cf. Hume, IV, 180; Bancroft, I, 66; subsequently in 1586 Drake made an expedition with twenty vessels against the Spanish West Indies, Hume, IV, 210.

³ Other expeditions of this period were that of Richard Hawkins (1594), which resulted disastrously; that of James Lancaster (1594), against the Spaniards in Brazil, which was successful; and that of Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins (1595), against the Spanish West Indies, which failed in its purpose.

⁴ For an account of the Armada, cf. Hume, IV, 250-264; at length, James Anthony Froude, "The Spanish Story of the Armada."

great vessel was in that year wrecked on the Isle of Wight. For these reasons England was dependent on her own resources. On the other hand, before 1590 Englishmen, hearing in general of the riches of the Orient, were beginning to covet them. The necessity of seeking them on their own account, occasioned by foreign complications, was, as will be explained, forcibly seconded by domestic conditions. It is therefore not surprising that, in 1591, English mariners at length set out for the East by way of the Cape of Good Hope.¹ Of the three ships making this first attempt, one alone weathered the trip; on its return voyage it was driven upon the West Indies and lost. Only eight men of the entire party finally reached England. The long series of disasters befalling such undertakings was most discouraging and unpropitious to further effort; still, one favorable influence existed. Numerous Englishmen who, serving under other flags, had met better fortune, counteracted the effects of this repeated ill luck, and thus kept alive the spark of hope.

Other events contributed not a little to incite enthusiasm. The Portuguese galleon *Madre de Dios*, having surrendered to an English privateer, was in 1592 brought to Dartmouth. This vessel, of 1600 tons with a cargo of \$750,000, was larger than any theretofore known in England.² Likewise, many other barks captured about the same date tended to increase the popular imagination of the importance of the Oriental trade. Such was the experience and the progress on the part of Englishmen at the expiration of the sixteenth century. Certainly their achievements were very mediocre as compared with those of the seamen of Spain and Portugal.

In spite of all their enterprises and hardy sailors, this people appear to have failed, up to that time, in their ventures for wealth or aggrandizement. They were still without the portals of the promised land. While the field was in

¹ For this voyage of James Lancaster, cf. Southey, I, 213-215; Harris, "Voyages," I, 875; Heeren, 88 (par. 12 note).

² This vessel was captured by the fleet under the command of Sir Walter Raleigh in one of his West Indian expeditions, Thomson, "Raleigh," 50-51; Payne, 56.

a degree unoccupied, the rising Dutch were strong competitors, and the results of the past did not presage any greater success for the future. Had it not been for circumstances prevailing at home, the English would probably not have been so persistent in their endeavors. The prime necessity of supplying themselves with the goods formerly purchased from Venice, Spain, and Portugal, would not alone, indeed, have induced them to hazard more in fruitless expeditions wherein the fates had so ill-humoredly pursued them; for manifold signs indicated that the Netherlands would soon be not only able, but glad, to furnish the desired merchandise. Having already incurred the enmity of Spain and Portugal, why sacrifice the friendship of Holland by becoming its rival? The reasons nevertheless were so potent as to be irresistible.

During the later half of the fifteenth century, England had been almost continually in the throes of civil strife and discord; just before Elizabeth came to the throne seditions broke out anew, and once or twice during her reign were again repeated. From 1522 to 1564 the kingdom was nearly constantly in arms against France and Scotland.¹ The ten years just preceding the accession of Elizabeth formed likewise the epoch of intense religious hatreds. Witness the burning alive of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer at Oxford in 1556.² Elizabeth commenced to rule in 1558. From 1562 to 1564 there was a brief contest with France; from 1588 to 1604 war technically existed with Spain; but after the loss of the famous Armada, at the very beginning of hostilities, the conflict, so far as England was concerned, continued more in name than in fact. The country enjoyed a prolonged period of comparative peace from 1564 to 1624.³ The little fighting done with Spain occurred mostly between the privateers of the

¹ The reign of Henry VIII (1509-1547) falls mostly within this period.

² For brief review of these religious difficulties, cf. Bancroft, I, 177-199; Fiske, "Beginnings of New England," 41 et seq.

³ "During these years (1568-1580) while Europe was almost everywhere in great commotion, England enjoyed a profound tranquillity, owing chiefly to the prudence and vigor of the queen's administration and to the wise precautions which she employed in all her measures." — HUME, IV, 170.

respective nations, and generally ended in the seizure of treasure by the English.¹

The conditions in England at the close of the sixteenth century forcibly recall the situation in Spain at its opening. After a lengthy term of contentions and domestic upheavals, both political and sectarian, a relative calm follows.² There are many restless, daring, and courageous spirits, who then find themselves without opportunity for their usual avocations. When there are not men to face, they will brave the elements. Such resolute characters, sometimes inspired by the longing for legitimate renown, more frequently enchanted by the vaguely circulating rumors of Spanish wealth to be captured beyond the seas, led the way for their compatriots from England to the New World of the West and to the older regions of the Orient.³ For their part they were disappointed, as all the territories still available seemed lacking in mineral ores and barren of profitable commerce. The occasionally golden-tinted dreams of future riches were often harshly dispelled; nevertheless, these men were, unknown to themselves, well and faithfully performing their allotted task in the divine scheme of beneficence.

There was likewise another class, to which these recently found lands offered at least a brighter hope. The reign of Elizabeth, outwardly brilliant and prosperous, was in fact an era of serious internal troubles. The transformation occurring in agriculture,⁴—pasturage replacing tillage,⁵—the rapid depreciation in values occasioned by the introduction of vast quantities of precious metals from South America into

¹ Raynal, V, 347-362.

² Rosscher and Jannasch, 39.

³ "But when peace put an end to the military enterprises against Spain and left ambitious spirits no hopes of making any longer such rapid advances toward honor and fortune, the nation began to second the pacific intentions of its monarch and to see a surer though slower expedient for acquiring riches and glory." — HUME, IV, 519.

⁴ For the crisis in agriculture under Elizabeth, cf. Leroy-Beaulieu, 89-90, who quotes William Jacob and others; the depression still continued under James I, Hume, IV, 520.

⁵ The abandonment of tillage for pasturage was in part due to the high price of wool as compared with other products, Cunningham, "Growth of English Industry and Commerce," 51-58.

Spain, as well as the disturbance of manufactures for want of supplies and markets, were creating a formidable economic crisis.¹ As in all ages and countries, under similar circumstances, the lower grades of society suffered the most. Thus the necessity of radical relief was urgent. As measured by the productiveness of the soil, England was then beginning to feel the effects of overpopulation and incapacity to satisfy the needs of her inhabitants. Supplementary to this main motive—the struggle for life²—strongly cherished differences of religious opinion contributed not a little to the disposition to separate from the native heath.³

Englishmen, as a race, have always been prudent, sensible, reasoning, and undaunted. Standing at the opposite pole to the Spaniards in the scale of personal traits, they have ever been devoid of high-strung fancies and vain delusions. Energetic as individuals, they have been ready to win their livelihood by their exertions. They rather despise the man who expects to pick up a fortune without effort. To this extent the people were not dismayed nor discouraged at the reports

¹ "A remonstrance from Trinity House in 1602 says that in a little above twelve years after 1588 the shipping and number of seamen in England decayed about one-third."—HUME, IV, 395, who cites Anglesey's "Happy Future State of England," 128, from Sir Julius Caesar's Collection, *Journal* of May 21, 1604. For the low state of industry in England during the sixteenth century, cf. Hume, III, 74; IV, 369; under James I conditions began to improve, *ibid.* IV, 413-414, 514-515, 518; for the situation under Charles I, *ibid.* V, 526-527; under Charles II and James II, *ibid.* VI, 369 et seq. The causes were chiefly attributable to the existence of monopolies, *ibid.* III, 74-75; IV, 335 et seq.; for the Parliamentary struggle under Elizabeth in 1601 against them, Macaulay, I, 67; under William and Mary, Hume, IV, 222; cf. also Rosscher and Jannasch, 44.

² "While Spanish colonization was effected during the most brilliant and powerful period of the mother country, that of England was originally the child of necessity, domestic discord, and discontent, belonging to an age when the mother country counted for the least in the European political system."—ROSSCHER AND JANNASCH, 181. "Peopled gradually from England by the necessitous and the indigent, who at home increased neither wealth nor populousness, the colonies which were planted along that tract (North American coast) have promoted the navigation, encouraged the industry, and even perhaps multiplied the inhabitants of their mother country."—HUME, IV, 519.

³ For brief account of the religious quarrels under Elizabeth and her successors, cf. Hume, IV, 115-119, 171-172, 201-206, 280, 385-386, 501; V, 4, 84, 143; Macaulay, I, 93; Raynal, VII, 347-362; VIII, 314-327; Fiske, "Beginnings of New England," 60 et seq.

brought home by their sailors from North America; nor were they in despair at the odds to be overcome, in order to secure a share of the trade of the East. To the West the dissatisfied and dissident masses commenced to look as the promised haven of repose and contented sufficiency. Thither they would transfer their husbandry, ruined in Old England, and their beliefs there proscribed to them. And in this sentiment of purpose curiously enough the philosophical thinkers agreed. Not less an authority than Lord Bacon laid down the maxim by which English colonization was to be governed.¹ "A virgin soil is the best. Mines of gold and silver corrupt the character, and the wealth drawn from them, however great, can be only of short duration. Honest toil and continual industry are in the end the greatest sources of fortune." Richard Hakluyt, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and many other eminent writers of that epoch cherished these opinions. Such influences tended to counteract the disappointment of those rare exceptions who deplored the absence of the precious metals.²

The physical conditions, strange to say, admirably conformed to the description of the ideal land, as depicted by the theorists. South America did not respond more fully to the hopes of the Spaniards than the districts of the North answered the demands of the English nation. The vast plains of these latter regions were excellent for farming, while abundant havens were awaiting the arrival of countless ships. Hither Englishmen were to come across the sea with the plow, the scythe, and the pruning hook, to extract far more valuable riches than all the mines of Spanish America could yield. It was a slower process, but more enduring;³ for, after the labor was once begun, the returns were multiplied in geometrical ratio to the period of activity. Again, the methods of the Spaniards were exhaustive; of the English, constructive. The colonial systems to be erected under these different skies

¹ Cf. "Essay on Plantations."

² Hume, IV, 520; R. and J. 181 et seq.; Leroy-Beaulieu, 91-92.

³ Cf. Doyle, "English Colonies in America," "Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas," 104.

were to be as distinctive as the characteristics themselves with which nature had endowed the two sections of the continent.¹

One other memorable fact is to be noted, which finally offered to Englishmen the opportunity for the more immediate pursuit of their objects. The conquest of Portugal by Spain had a similar influence on Holland and England.² For eight years the balance trembled. Had not Philip II sent the Armada against the coasts of Britain, the opening of English colonization, in the proper sense, would have been yet more retarded.³ In spite of the widely reaching and instructive voyages of its sailors prior to that date, the Crown still felt unable to afford adequate protection to its emigrants in distant lands. With the collapse of Spanish supremacy on the water, the last obstacle, or hindrance, to the execution of English colonial projects was removed. Political events with their attendant warfare on the ocean then taught this people to realize their strength. The delay was not long. When, in 1591, the trip around the Cape of Good Hope was undertaken, enterprises in the West were also increasing. On the eve of the seventeenth century the English were not only disposed to scatter over most remote regions, but believed themselves well equipped for their own defence, wheresoever they should wander in quest of new homes and dominions. Standing on the threshold of this narrative, it is well to recall that these pioneers of America, who, for the sake of life and conscience, abandoned their old hearthstones, were not mere speculators, soldiers, or adventurers of fortune, seeking to plunder and destroy, but true-hearted, law-loving, church-going, steady farmers, laborers, and mechanics, under the leadership of conscientious clergymen, philosophical statesmen, learned students, and self-sacrificing proprietors, who, wherever they went, aimed to impress on their own children and their descendants the lessons of thrift, industry, and perseverance imbibed under the skies of old England.

Prior to 1600 the participation of Englishmen in the glories and dangers of maritime expeditions was almost entirely of a

¹ R. and J. 179; Leroy-Beaulieu, 92-93.

² Cf. *supra*, I, 307.

³ Cf. Fiske, "Old Virginia and her Neighbors," I, 39.

personal and individual nature. Already, in 1502, Henry VII had granted a charter to a company of Bristol merchants, in which "commerce with the colonies" finds mention; but unfortunately nearly all the oft-repeated attempts at discovery had been fruitless. The English had not during the sixteenth century established a single permanent settlement in America.¹ Their vessels in a limited number went annually to the Newfoundland fisheries, but in other respects they had utterly failed to secure a foothold in this hemisphere. Portugal and Spain had a lead of more than a hundred years in colonization and wider development, while Holland and France were quite on even terms with, if not in advance of, England in the race for power. The era which was dawning was, however, to be prolific of results. The foundation had been laid in the acquisition of a thorough knowledge of seamanship obtained in numerous adventurous exploits. Although the English had not yet a formidable marine, still, very much like the Dutch, they had enlisted under other flags and navigated others' ships, so that as sailors their reputation was already made. The difficulty in England was financial and characteristic. Without the effects of Spanish-Austrian influence, which the Dutch had long experienced, the English had not that predilection for corporate organization which their Low Country competitors exhibited.² Trade guilds there were, but their energies were limited to their respective branches of industry and to their local communities. There was not any tendency, as in Holland, to pool their capital or to unite for national enterprises.³ Every man wished to steer his own bark, and to reserve to himself the advantages which he might gain. Consequently the preference for small boats, lonesomely crossing wide tracts of the unknown deep. Large, imposing fleets, under the direction of some wealthy company, did not exist. It was the isolated vessel with its daring crew which first

¹ Seeley, "Expansion of England," 9.

² This statement applies particularly to the earlier period and to commercial undertakings.

³ Fiske, "Old Virginia and her Neighbors," I, 31-32.

carried the English name to the uttermost ends of the earth; prior to 1588, that famous date of history, persistent piracy against the Spanish had trained up many seamen to handle this kind of craft. When the naval superiority of England was assured, they were glad to devote themselves to her greater undertakings.¹ Thus the lands to be colonized were not only known to the people, and recognized as excellently adapted by the theoretical economists, but the sailor class was likewise prepared to conduct the colonists thither, and, above all, by virtue of agricultural, political, and religious conditions, the masses were ready, nay, yearning, for some escape from prevailing distress.²

¹ "Queen Elizabeth, sensible how much the defence of her kingdom depended on its naval power, was desirous to encourage commerce and navigation, but as her monopolies tended to extinguish all domestic industry, which is much more valuable than foreign trade, and is the foundation of it, the general train of her conduct was ill calculated to serve the purpose at which she aimed, much less to promote the riches of her people. The exclusive companies also were an immediate check on foreign trade. Yet, notwithstanding these discouragements, the spirit of the age was strongly bent on naval enterprises, and, besides the military expeditions against the Spaniards, many attempts were made for new discoveries and many new branches of foreign commerce were opened by the English." — HUME, IV, 364, 366-369; VI, 369.

² Doyle, "English Colonization in America," and "Virginia, Maryland and the Carolinas," 101-104.

CHAPTER XVII

EARLY ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN NORTH AMERICA

NORTH AMERICA was for England the principal field of earlier activity. The story of the sturdy pioneers, their long sufferings, and their glorious struggle for the sake of freedom, is familiar to all their descendants; a brief review of the historical facts will therefore amply suffice. In 1578 Sir Humphrey Gilbert obtained the first patent for a proprietary colony, under which he subsequently endeavored to establish, as elsewhere noted, St. John's, Newfoundland; and in 1584 Sir Walter Raleigh secured similar concessions for the region of Virginia:¹ both failed in their object of planting durable settlements. The first permanent English community on the western continent was, as is well known, founded at Jamestown in 1607, under the auspices of the London Company, chartered by King James I in 1606. The territory awarded to Raleigh had, upon his attainder, reverted to the Crown, which had again granted it out to a number of adventurers and traders, divided into two organizations, the one entitled the London, the other the Plymouth Company.² To the former

¹ *Supra*, II, 6; Hume, "History of England," IV, 210-211; Leroy-Beaulieu, 95.

² The statements concerning this grant vary considerably. Fiske says: "The colonization of the North American coast had now become part of the avowed policy of the British government. In 1606 a great joint stock company was formed for the establishment of two colonies in America. The branch which was to take charge of the proposed southern colony had its headquarters in London; the management of the northern branch was at Plymouth in Devonshire. Hence the two branches were commonly spoken of as the London and Plymouth Companies," "Beginnings of New England," 75. Bancroft states the facts as follows: "For the purpose of colonization he [James I] divided the almost limitless region equally between the two rival companies of London and of the West. . . . The conditions of tenure were

for the purposes of exploration and colonization the district of the American coast between 34° and 38° north latitude was assigned; to the latter the entire shore-line between the 41st and 45th parallels. Toward the interior not any boundary was fixed.

The first expedition despatched to Virginia was unluckily composed mostly of promiscuous fortune-seekers. The prowess and prudence of Captain John Smith alone saved the situation.¹ In 1609 the London Company was rehabilitated under new privileges accorded to a party of very influential men.² A reënforcement of emigrants immediately sailed. Lord Delaware had been named governor and a brighter era was thought to be opening. Delaware unexpectedly was detained at home, but empowered Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and the admiral of the squadron, Newport, as commissioners to direct affairs in his own absence; unfortunately the vessel carrying them was wrecked on the Bermuda Islands. Soon after the landing of the other settlers, Smith, by reason of an accident, was obliged to return to England. In 1610 the little band was in desperate straits, when Gates and his companions after many hardships finally arrived. They, having at once determined to abandon the place, were setting out for the Newfoundland Banks, where they hoped to obtain succor, when the opportune appearance of Lord Delaware changed their designs. Henceforward, from time to time, recruits more regularly reached Virginia, and stability as well as increase in population and area were gradually assured.³ A third charter, bestowing larger political rights, was issued in 1612.⁴ One hundred convicts were shipped thither in 1619, and a Dutch merchantman likewise brought from Africa the first twenty slaves.⁵ For a

homage and rent; the rent was no other than one-fifth of the net produce of gold and silver and one-fifteenth of copper."—"United States History," 85-86, 89; cf. also Doyle, "English Colonies in America," 108-112; Hurlburt, "Britain and Her Colonies," 1, 2; Merivale, 94; Heeren, 89 (par. 14 note).

¹ For this first enterprise, cf. Bancroft, I, 87-89; subsequently, 90-96; for John Smith, *ibid.* 96-98; Fiske, "Beginnings of New England," 77-79.

² Bancroft, I, 99.

³ For Virginia during this period, cf. Bancroft, I, 100-104; Hume, IV, 519-520.

⁴ Bancroft, I, 104; Merivale, 94.

⁵ Bancroft, I, 126.

century criminals were despatched from England in a constantly augmenting ratio, their labor being sold to the planters; but during the next forty years the introduction of negroes was slow, being effected mostly by the Dutch.¹

At the urgent request of the colonists a popular convention of delegates from the different plantations in Virginia was in 1619 called by the governor. This earliest representative body in America resolved upon the adoption of a form of administration "as near as may be" to the law in force in the realm of England.² The written constitution was decreed in 1621. Under it the Company appointed the governor and permanent Council, while the House of Burgesses, two elected from each plantation, together with the Council, was to constitute the General Assembly. In courts of justice the procedure of England was to control.³ In 1624 the Company quarrelled with the king, resulting in its formal dissolution.⁴ Henceforth the colony depended immediately on the Crown. Until this date prospects had been precarious. Tobacco was almost the only article cultivated for export, and the influx of felons was having a baneful influence on the character of the inhabitants. Serious hostilities with the Indians were also reducing their number.⁵ The code of legislation was amended in 1632, and thereafter, with the exception of a few brief periods, Virginia enjoyed moderate prosperity. In 1649, on account of a surplus, tobacco fell so in price as to cause grave apprehension; one-half of the crop was burnt as an economic measure. At the beginning of the Commonwealth, Virginia adhered to the side of the loyalists; but was ultimately obliged to submit by the fleet which Cromwell sent against it.⁶

After the Restoration, the laws were again, in 1662, modified;

¹ For the subject of slaves, indented whites, and convicts in Virginia, cf. generally Bancroft, I, 125-126.

² For an account of this body, cf. Bancroft, I, 110-113; Hurlburt, 2, 31-34; also Fiske, "Old Virginia and her Neighbors."

³ Bancroft, I, 117-118; Hurlburt, 3.

⁴ Bancroft, I, 129-134; this company lost £200,000, Jefferson, "Notes on Virginia," 179; Hurlburt, 3.

⁵ For the early hostilities with the Indians, cf. Bancroft, I, 127-129.

⁶ Merivale, 94; Bancroft, I, 141-144, 147.

more or less vain efforts were then made to restrict the powers of the burgesses, which had been broadened during the prevalence of liberal ideas; among other things the Church of England was reestablished, and education was limited. Although agriculture was developing, tobacco still remained the staple. The people were during this interval seldom consulted in political matters, the direction of affairs being vested in the governors, of whom Sir William Berkeley was perhaps the most typical, as well as the best known. Under Charles II, Arlington and Culpepper, to whom a patent had been given,¹ insisted upon a higher rate of taxation. Bacon's rebellion ensued in 1676.² In 1705 still a fifth revision of the statutes occurred; the slave was then declared real estate, a condition which endured until the Revolution. The history of Virginia from that time until 1754—the epoch of the French-Indian wars—is uneventful.

The fact to be emphasized is the early recognition of the right of the colonists to a share in their own government. From the year 1619, when Governor George Yeardley first summoned them to elect burgesses, the executive retained simply his veto, and, save for the approval of the Company in England, the resolutions of the Assembly were supreme.³ Although James I abolished the corporation, he did not succeed in lessening the authority of this local representative body, which, after the extension of privileges during the Commonwealth, always stoutly maintained its freedom of action.⁴

While in Virginia the first settlers were desperately struggling to secure a permanent foothold, the other English organization, known as the Plymouth Company, or that of the West (because most of its members resided in Bristol and the

¹ Burke, "Virginia," II, App. 34.

² For this period of Virginian history, cf. Bancroft, I, 442-474.

³ Bancroft, I, 150-152.

⁴ For the subsequent history of Virginia as a colony, cf. Bancroft, II, 17-20; in this same connection, cf. Lodge, "A Short History of the English Colonies in America," Ch. I and II; Doyle, "English Colonies in America," and Fiske, "Old Virginia and her Neighbors."

west of England) was endeavoring to locate a colony in its domains. Soon after the departure of the expedition of the London Company for the South, some adventurers, commanded by Raleigh Gilbert and George Popham, under the patronage of the other society, sailed from Plymouth in two vessels, and after a voyage of nine weeks landed on the American coast near the mouth of the Kennebec.¹ Only one winter was passed in this inclement spot when, upon the arrival of a second party, it was decided to return to England.² Within the next few years other futile efforts in this region were made; among them was that of Captain John Smith, who cruised off New England in 1614, and drew a map of it;³ subsequently several persons attempted, under the same auspices, to found stable settlements, but without success; so that this portion of the country came to be viewed as the least propitious for white men. Some extraneous causes were, however, tending to the long-desired results.

For a moment the situation then existing in the Netherlands must be considered. The Low Countries at the beginning of the seventeenth century were equally famous for religious independence and colonial enterprise. It is not difficult to realize, after reading of the events described in previous chapters, that Englishmen who had fled to Holland for the sake of liberty of conscience should, by their intercourse with its hardy people, be inspired to imitate their maritime achievements. The Puritans, domiciled in Leyden,⁴ had, without doubt, heard much of Dutch exploits in the East; they knew that England had preëmpted certain territories in the West; they learned the Company was anxious to procure emigrants for these wild, inhospitable shores; they relied on their own strength of character and purpose to overcome all obstacles; they believed that where others would not go they could enjoy freedom of worship unmolested, and at the same time continue loyal to the flag

¹ Doyle, "The Puritan Colonies," I, 18-20.

² For the early expeditions of Gosnold, Weymouth, and Popham, cf. Fiske, "Beginnings of New England," 76-77.

³ *Ibid.* 77-79; Bancroft, I, 96-98; Doyle, "The Puritan Colonies," I, 20.

⁴ Doyle, "The Puritan Colonies," I, 34-36.

and race of their forefathers. The united influence of their experience, their knowledge, and their belief was irresistible; they resolved to remove to New England. There they would be able to revert to their former manner of life in Old England, to retain their nationality, language, and laws, to pursue agriculture, and to reverence God as their spirit dictated.¹

Negotiations were opened with the Plymouth Company and James I. After some delay the corporation granted a concession of lands, which, as the issue proved, were never occupied; but the king showed himself antagonistic to the project, or at best simply non-committal. On the other hand, the Duke of Lenox and others, in 1620, obtained a conflicting charter. Disdaining any action on the Crown's part, the Puritans nevertheless persisted.² In August, 1620, the first party embarked at Southampton, on board the *Speedwell* and the *Mayflower*; both ships twice put back for repairs, and finally the latter, sailing (September 6, 1620) alone from Plymouth (England), after many mishaps and misfortunes, cast anchor off the coast of New England in November, 1620.³ Notwithstanding the dire hardships of the succeeding years, the colonists never wavered; to them their new home was, in effect, an adopted country; and in all the periods of distress the parent state, from which religious scruples had exiled them, was never regarded as a possible refuge from their privations.⁴

The constitutional history of the Plymouth colony antedates even the landing of these pioneers; for when yet at sea the men on the *Mayflower* drew up an agreement wherein, after recognizing the sovereignty of England, they instituted a "body politic" for self-defence, the enactment of laws, and the maintenance of government.⁵ The freemen chose the governor,

¹ For brief statement of the causes which drove the Puritans out of England, and their history in Holland, cf. Bancroft, I, 194-205; Fiske, "New England," 73-74.

² For the history of the discussion among the Puritans and their negotiations with the Company and the king, cf. Fiske, "New England," 79-81.

³ The *Mayflower* arrived within Cape Cod on November 9, 1620; one month was spent by those on board in selecting a place for landing; finally they went ashore at Plymouth, on December 11, 1620 (Old Style).

⁴ Fiske, "New England," 82-87.

⁵ Bancroft, I, 206-207; Hurlburt, 3-4.

and all male members of the church were permitted to take part in public affairs. In 1639 a House of Representatives was introduced. Colonial officers were annually elected. The Puritans were thus absolutely exempt from the control of the Company, except in matters of trade. In 1622 another settlement was founded at Weymouth, under royal license, with which dissensions subsequently arose. The Plymouth Colony was flourishing, and yearning for freedom, when at length a few of its friends in England made the purchase of its immunities for the sum of \$9000;¹ but, some hindrance occurring in securing a patent, the community formed for a time an independent state.²

In 1628 John Endicott conducted another expedition to Salem, and soon thereafter the Crown signed a franchise for this entire region under the name of Massachusetts Bay.³ The colonists were organized as a corporation. A governor, a deputy, and eighteen others selected by vote were intrusted with the administration. Four general assemblies of freemen were held every year, for the purpose of legislation and the election of members and officers; these latter were chosen annually. Once a month the governor, his deputy, and at least seven of the delegated representatives met to transact routine business.⁴ In the charter it was stipulated that not any laws contrary to those of England should be enacted. Not a word was said of liberty of conscience, but the profession of Catholicism was forbidden. Although the Established Church of England was prescribed and tacitly acknowledged, the settlers, simply ignoring this provision, continued to worship as it pleased them.⁵ New towns, such as Charleston, Boston, Roxbury, Salem, and many others sprang up around Massachu-

¹ Doyle, "The Puritan Colonies," I, 61-62.

² Bancroft, I, 207-214; Fiske, "New England," 95 et seq.; Hurlburt, 4.

³ For the Salem expedition and the Massachusetts Bay charter, cf. Bancroft, I, 222-229; Fiske, "New England," 92-96; Doyle, "Puritan Colonies," I, Ch. III; Hurlburt, 5-8.

⁴ For an odd story illustrating the pertinacity with which the various branches of colonial administration maintained their own authority, cf. Fiske, "New England," 106-108.

⁵ *Ibid.* 108-109.

setts Bay.¹ Amicable relations were maintained with the elder body at Plymouth and with the surrounding Indian tribes.² Some political disputes happened, but were adjusted without serious difficulty. The right of religious tolerance was claimed, but nevertheless, as the instance of Roger Williams testifies, was not vouchsafed to others.³

The distinctive features of the Massachusetts Bay Company were the location of its chief seat of government in the colony,⁴ and the participation of the majority of the residents as associates in its affairs and management; it was the first time on record that the High Council or Board of Directors had not had its headquarters in the parent state.⁵ Immigration increased so rapidly and the powers assumed were so great that as early as 1634 the Crown began to fear that the people were aspiring to independence.⁶ The charter was therefore declared annulled, and a high commission of Englishmen, for the direction of public concerns, was appointed. The inhabitants, however, declined to surrender the instrument which had been accorded them. Troops were being drilled, and Boston harbor was about to be fortified, when the report came that internal discords at home would prevent the king from the execution of his designs.⁷

During the time of Cromwell Massachusetts was not disturbed in the enjoyment of her liberties, but upon the Restoration troubles again prevailed.⁸ The colonists denied the pretension of Parliament to pass laws for them. In 1662 a delegation was sent to England to request a confirmation of privileges,

¹ Fiske, "New England," 104 et seq.

² *Ibid.* 120.

³ For the case of Roger Williams, Bancroft, I, 249-252; Fiske, "New England," 114-120.

⁴ Doyle, "Puritan Colonies," I, 97.

⁵ For the history of the transfer of the government to the colony, cf. Bancroft, I, 230-248; Fiske, "New England," 101 et seq.

⁶ Fiske, "New England," 111; Doyle, "Puritan Colonies," I, 119.

⁷ For this period of struggle, cf. Bancroft, I, 273-279; Fiske, "New England," 111-114. At this time New England is said to have contained 25,000 souls, Hume, V, 527, who quotes "British Empire in America," I, 372.

⁸ For the history of Massachusetts during the Commonwealth, Bancroft, I, 279-322.

and to plead the justice of past acts and present demands. In the first matter it was successful, but in regard to the others met with positive refusal, the king asserting his absolute control in every particular, both civil and religious. An English committee, invested with full authority and discretion, arrived in 1664 on American soil; but the freemen at once voted a measure inflicting severe penalties on persons who should communicate to it any grievance or fact whatsoever. The masses being heartily in sympathy, and information consequently not obtainable, the royal representatives failed in their errand. The colony was publicly reproofed, while the governor and two or three other prominent men were summoned to England; they did not go. For nearly twenty years the breach continued without further action on the one side or the other, until in 1684 the English High Court of Chancery finally affirmed the forfeiture of the colonial charter.¹

The king immediately selected a new chief magistrate² and council; the colonists, unwillingly submitting, abided their time. Upon the news of the English revolution of 1688, which reached Boston only the following year, the settlers seized their arms, captured the officials, and laid hold of all public edifices and the British ships in the harbor. Similar events occurred in the other towns. The previous governor was restored and elections of representatives were held.³ Aside from these political dissensions, tranquillity did not reign; in 1675-1676 King Philip's War had been waged;⁴ in 1690 the men of Massachusetts engaged in the hostilities against the French in Canada; and about the same epoch the witchcraft craze swept over the land.⁵

¹ For the history of this dispute, Bancroft, I, 367-381, 395-407; Fiske, "New England," 253-254, 265-266; Macaulay, 251; Hurlburt, 8-20; Merivale, 95.

² He was Sir Edmund Andros, governor of New York, under whom an effort was made to unite all the northern colonies, Bancroft, I, 584-587; Fiske, "New England," 267-272.

³ For this miniature revolution, Bancroft, 598-601; Fiske, "New England," 272 et seq.

⁴ For King Philip's War and general relations with the Indians, cf. Bancroft, I, 382-384; Fiske, "New England," 199-241.

⁵ For the witchcraft craze, Bancroft, II, 53, 58-66.

William and Mary granted in 1691 another charter, conferring powers in some respects quite different from those formerly exercised.¹ Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Maine, Acadia (now Nova Scotia), and the intervening zone were included under the name of the "Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England." The Crown was to appoint the governor, the lieutenant-governor, the secretary of the province, and the officers of the Court of Admiralty. The franchise was restricted to freemen having an estate worth \$200 or an annual income of \$10 from real property. The General Court was to consist of annually chosen delegates—two from each town. It had the right of legislation and the selection of twenty-eight of its own members as councillors to assist in the administration of affairs. The governor was commander-in-chief of the military forces; he might veto the acts of the General Court, but the Crown reserved to itself the ultimate approval of the laws. "All Christians, except Papists," might worship God according to their own inclination. This document remained effective until the Revolution. Thenceforward the people were chiefly occupied in conflicts with the Indians and aiding the British in their attacks on Canada.²

The story of Maine is closely identified with that of Massachusetts, of which it long constituted a part.³ Possibly the earliest struggle between the French and the English on American soil took place here in 1613, when, some rival claimants of these nations meeting in strife in this desert region, the former were expelled.⁴ In 1620 Sir Ferdinando Gorges obtained a new patent from James I on behalf of the

¹ "The favorable influence of the revolution of 1688 upon the growth of liberty should not be overlooked."—BANCROFT, II, 70 et seq. For the provisions of the charter of 1691, Doyle, "The Puritan Colonies," II, 290-293; Fiske, "New England," 275-276; Hurlburt, 8-9, 11, 33.

² For the history of Massachusetts after the revolution of 1688, Bancroft, II, 50-56, 57-69.

³ For the early voyages of Gosnold, Popham, and others, Bancroft, I, 79-83; Fiske, "New England," 76-77.

⁴ For this act of hostility—the expulsion of the French under the patronage of Madame de Guercheville from Mount Desert Isle—Bancroft, I, 105 et seq.; Parkman, "Pioneers of France in America," 300-323.

Plymouth Company of the territory between 40° and 48° north latitude.¹ When the Puritans and the Massachusetts Bay colonists arrived, he tried in vain to drive them out as trespassers, a few settlements meanwhile being made under his auspices in Maine.² The Company in 1635 abandoned its privileges. The son of Gorges subsequently acquired a charter of the country north of the Massachusetts Bay communities, which he was thus obliged to recognize. He and his heirs had already located several towns, when, under Cromwell in 1651, Massachusetts successfully set up claims to this tract.³ When Charles I returned to the throne, the latter was restored to the Gorges family; Massachusetts, however, demurred, and finally bought out all competitors for \$6250.⁴ From 1675 to 1760 the entire district was desolated by the Indians. Until 1820 Maine formed an integral portion of Massachusetts.

Rhode Island,⁵ an offshoot of Massachusetts, owed its origin to the action of religious refugees. Roger Williams, William Coddington, and others fled to this unexplored wilderness in consequence of their doctrine that the civil authorities have not any right to regulate matters of creed.⁶ Providence, their first community, was established in 1636. Later, some other towns springing up, a government was organized. In 1642 Williams, going to England, secured a patent,⁷ and again, in 1663, John Clark was delegated to visit the mother country for the purpose of accepting a new charter.⁸ This instrument had the remarkable fortune to continue in effect as the Constitution of Rhode Island until 1842, or for a period of 179 years.⁹ The colony suffered severely in King Philip's

¹ For Gorges and his enterprises, Bancroft, I, 216-221; Fiske, "New England," 88 et seq.

² Fiske, "New England," 104; Winsor, III, 321-326, 363.

³ Bancroft, 298-299, 378-380.

⁴ *Ibid.* I, 397, 404; Fiske, "New England," 259-262, 275.

⁵ Winsor, "Narrative and Critical History of America," III, 335-339; Doyle, "Puritan Colonies," Ch. I and II.

⁶ Bancroft, I, 249-256, 262-264; *supra*, II, 24 and note 3.

⁷ Bancroft, I, 296; Fiske, "New England," 156-157. ⁸ Winsor, III, 338.

⁹ Bancroft, I, 362-365; Hurlburt, 21-22; Fiske, "New England," 196, 268, 274.

War,¹ and played a leading rôle in the hostilities between France and England on the American continent.²

New Hampshire³ was also in the beginning a section of Massachusetts; in 1679 a royal province, then again in 1689 annexed to its original owner, afterward transferred to New York, and eventually in 1741 given a distinct administration.⁴

Vermont⁵ did not receive any white settlers prior to 1724. New Hampshire maintained jurisdiction over this region without objection until 1763, when the governor of New York, on his own representation, was authorized to manage its affairs. The inhabitants, under the leadership of Ethan Allen and other brave men, were opposing these pretensions by armed force, when the Revolution broke out.⁶ The Continental Congress refused to allow Vermont a voice in the Confederation;⁷ but, although shut out of its deliberations, the people of the Green Mountain State fought bravely for the common cause. At the close of the war New York reasserted its claims, which the Vermonters declined to entertain, and not before 1790 was an adjustment reached, when New York yielded its demands upon the payment of \$30,000. For these reasons Vermont was not admitted to the Union until March 4, 1791.

Connecticut⁸ is celebrated as having the first enjoyed a written constitution;⁹ this memorable document was enacted by popular vote on January 4, 1639.¹⁰ Unfortunately the

¹ For King Philip's War, Fiske, "New England," 198-241; Bancroft, I, 382-384.

² For the colonial history of Rhode Island after the revolution of 1688, cf. Bancroft, II, 48-50.

³ Winsor, III, 326.

⁴ Bancroft, I, 257-262; II, 56-57; Fiske, "New England," 258-259.

⁵ Robinson, "Vermont" (Boston, 1892).

⁶ Bancroft, II, 361; III, 55, 87; IV, 142, 143; V, 157, 161-162.

⁷ *Ibid.* V, 408; VI, 324.

⁸ Winsor, III, 330.

⁹ "It was the first written constitution known to history that created a government, and it marked the beginnings of American democracy, of which Thomas Hooker deserves more than any other man to be called the father. The government of the United States to-day is in lineal descent more nearly related to that of Connecticut than to that of any of the other thirteen colonies." — Fiske, "New England," 127.

¹⁰ For the details of this constitution and the history of Connecticut prior to its adoption, Bancroft, I, 264-272; Fiske, "New England," 122-137.

details of its composition and adoption are lost; its characteristics are copied in a great measure into the Constitution of the nation and into those of many of the individual states. Until 1661 Connecticut existed under it as an independent community. At that time the younger Winthrop went to England to solicit a formal charter from Charles II upon a profession of allegiance. After considerable delay the king acceded to this request;¹ but in 1685 an effort was made to rescind his action, when Andros,—then governor of New York,—the tool of James II, sought to unite all the New England colonies under his own rule.² The residents of Connecticut boldly resisted, but together with the others were for four years compelled to submit. After the revolution in 1688 the annulled instrument was again revived and, although in many respects peculiar, remained inviolate until 1818. Only one house of assembly was provided until 1698, when the usual division of two branches was adopted. The methods of nomination and election to office were unique. Originally the executive and judiciary formed a part of the legislature; but in 1711 separate systems were organized. Connecticut, as a colony, always deserved the distinction of being foremost in the development of the various departments of civil administration.³

Nearly all the American establishments which owed their foundation to Englishmen, except those of New England, were at some time under the proprietary style of government; Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware were, notwithstanding, the only three which permanently retained it; in these the powers of the Crown were deeded over to individuals, who thereby became the absolute owners of the regions thus granted. They might in turn let out subordinate feuds to others who went thither to dwell. The proprietors appointed the governors

¹ For the grant of this charter, Bancroft, I, 356-362; Hurlburt, 21-22.

² For the attempt to amalgamate all the Northern colonies, cf. Bancroft, I, 574-589.

³ "In Connecticut and Rhode Island the charter governments were organized upon popular and democratic principles."—HURLBURT, 11. For the discussion of the liberties assumed by the colonists in the charter colonies, *ibid.* 18-24. For Connecticut after the revolution of 1688, cf. Bancroft, II, 47-48, 247, 253.

and called the provincial assemblies at their pleasure; in Maryland the laws were subject to their sole approval, even the king not having any veto over legislation.¹

The earliest settlement in Maryland was made on Kent Island in Chesapeake Bay, in 1631, by Captain William Clayborne, with emigrants from Virginia. Charles I, on June 20, 1632, issued a charter to Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore; and Leonard Calvert, the latter's brother, as the first chief magistrate, took out an expedition of two hundred persons — mostly Roman Catholic gentlemen — in the winter of 1633–1634. They reached St. Mary's on March 25, 1634; Clayborne, refusing to acknowledge the authority of Calvert, was promptly expelled; but, returning in 1644, he drove out the governor; the latter recovered possession in 1646; the Assembly finally passed, in 1649, an act by which Maryland was opened to all persons of whatsoever belief or persuasion. Hostilities between the Catholic and the Puritan party, however, continued until 1658, when the former at last triumphed. These civil dissensions naturally retarded growth. In 1688 the Crown abrogated the rights of the Calverts on sectarian grounds and resumed direct control. Subsequently, in 1714, when that family became Protestant, it was restored to power. Tobacco, like in Virginia, was always the staple product. The colonists took a lively part in the French wars of 1754–1763.²

English rule in both the other proprietary colonies was due to the great apostle of religious freedom, William Penn. New Jersey and Delaware had been, about 1630, occupied by the Swedes, whose colonization will in due course be described. The Dutch, with their headquarters at New Amsterdam, had afterward seized these establishments, which in turn, when Holland lost its colonies in 1664, fell into the hands of the English. A few Quakers from England somewhat later found

¹ Blackstone, "Commentaries on the Laws of England," I, 108; Merivale, 74 et seq.

² For the history of the colonization of Maryland, cf. Winsor, III, Ch. XIII; Doyle, "Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas," Ch. X; Bancroft, I, 154–175, 437–441; II, 20–23.

their way thither. Two of them, Fenwick and Byllinge by name, in 1679 claimed each to have acquired title by purchase from other original grantees. Not being able to agree, they determined to refer the matter for arbitration to William Penn, who was recognized as the leader of the sect. He decided in favor of Byllinge, whereupon the latter, being heavily in debt, transferred the entire tract to Penn and two of his creditors. The king owing Penn's father \$90,000, a compromise was made to accept in lieu of that amount a patent to this region.¹ Penn and his heirs were thus granted the perpetual proprietorship of these vast domains upon an annual payment of two beaver skins. In 1682, after drawing up a model set of laws² for their government, Penn came to America to sign his famous treaty with the Indians.³ The colony of Pennsylvania was ever noted for its excellent administration, its uninterrupted peace, and its intellectual development.⁴

After the expulsion of the Dutch the district of Delaware was long in dispute between wrangling rivals; finally, in 1682, Penn, having bought them out, annexed it to Pennsylvania, of which for twenty years it formed a part. The counties of Delaware so called were allowed to secede in 1702, and enjoyed thenceforth a separate assembly. Nevertheless the same proprietor controlled, and one executive ruled, both Pennsylvania and Delaware until the time of the Revolution.⁵ The latter locality, by reason of its protected situation, was always free from Indian wars, but its people actively participated in the hostilities against the French.

In 1664 Charles II deeded the territory between the Delaware and Connecticut rivers to his brother, the Duke of York, thereby forcibly expressing his own belief that the Dutch in America were usurpers. The duke sold his rights over

¹ Bancroft, I, 546-551.

² Fiske, "Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America," 153.

³ Bancroft, I, 552-573.

⁴ For the subsequent history of Pennsylvania as a colony, Bancroft, II, 24-30; generally, Winsor, III, Ch. XII.

⁵ For Delaware, cf. Lodge, "A Short History of the English Colonies in America," Ch. XIII; Bancroft, II, 30-31.

the southern portion of this tract to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. New Jersey¹ was then so named because the latter had previously been governor of the island of Jersey. Philip Carteret, his brother, came out in 1665 to establish the earliest English settlement in this vicinity, but the Dutch, recapturing it in 1673, held it for one year.² After the English had recovered it, domestic difficulties arose with the neighboring province of New York. Sir Edmund Andros, claiming that his jurisdiction extended over New Jersey, arrested and imprisoned Governor Carteret, as well as other officials. In 1681 the proprietors, at last victorious, were again placed in possession, but one year later William Penn and eleven other Quakers purchased all conflicting interests. The colony then became a refuge for the members of their sect. In 1702, owing to differences of opinion, the owners surrendered their patent to the Crown. One chief magistrate then acted jointly for New York and New Jersey, although the assemblies still continued distinct.³ Upon petition, Lewis Morris was, in 1738, designated as the first governor of New Jersey. Prior to the Revolution this community enjoyed a tranquil but flourishing career.

The administration of New York, the Carolinas, and Georgia, —like New Hampshire, — while varying from time to time, was ultimately of the provincial type. The Crown appointed the governor by special commission, and likewise named the council which, while a sort of advisory cabinet, also formed the upper branch of the legislature. The people elected the lower house. The choice of judges and other subordinate colonial functionaries was intrusted to the executive.⁴

New York,⁵ as already stated, was first taken from the Dutch in 1664, was subsequently reconquered by them in 1673, and by the treaty of 1674 restored to England.⁶ A new charter

¹ For New Jersey, cf. Winsor, III, Ch. XI.

² For its early history, Bancroft, I, 520-523.

³ For this period, Bancroft, II, 31-34.

⁴ Hurlburt, 9; Blackstone, I, 108.

⁵ For New York as a colony, Winsor, III, Ch. X.

⁶ *Supra*, I, 351; Bancroft, I, 519-527.

was granted in 1686 to replace the old Dutch instrument. The conduct of the royal representatives was generally very obnoxious to the prevailing spirit of the day, and their attempts to rule autocratically frequently met with serious opposition. In 1689, upon receipt of the news of the revolution in England, Jacob Leisler led a successful rebellion of the Dutch against the duly constituted authorities, but afterward, at the instance of the appointee of William and Mary in the governorship, he perished on the gallows (1691).¹ New York, by its location the most subject to French attacks, was almost constantly engaged in strife with the Canadians. In the final conflict this province and Virginia took the principal part. Upon its transfer to the English, the city of New York rapidly increased in prosperity. Freedom of religion and speech were rights dear to its inhabitants. In 1735 occurred the first incident which caused strained relations with the mother country. After the death of one of the chief magistrates, and pending the selection of an executive, Rip van Dam, as senior member of the council, served in this capacity. When Governor Crosby arrived, he demanded half of the fees collected during the interim; in the litigation which followed Van Dam was illegally defeated. The discussion of the case on the part of the people was strictly forbidden; this tyrannical decree aroused their ill humor. The newspapers argued *pro* and *con*, and feeling ran very high. Another event of that age was the persecution of the negroes, of whom there were then a relatively larger number as slaves in New York than in Virginia.²

Of the other provincial governments little need be said. The Carolinas, originally a proprietary colony, were the region which Sir Walter Raleigh had ineffectually tried to occupy, and also included the site of the celebrated Port Royal enterprise undertaken by the French Huguenots in 1562.³ After an unavailing grant in 1630, the entire district was, in

¹ Bancroft, I, 601; II, 34-37; for the subsequent history of New York prior to the Revolution, *ibid.* II, 37-46.

² For a brief history of the city of New York, cf. King's "Hand Book of New York," 5-46; more at length, Lamb, "History of the City of New York."

³ *Supra*, I, 364.

1663, deeded by Charles II jointly to eight English noblemen. John Locke wrote out a code of laws¹ which were — only nominally — in force for more than twenty-five years.² Growth was very slow; internal rebellion and Indian wars combined to retard it. Finally, in 1729, the king purchased all outstanding rights for \$87,500, and thenceforth North and South Carolina, as at that time separately created, were provinces of the Crown.³ Their subsequent record is very similar, unless it be that the southern section suffered the more from Spanish and Indian warfare. South Carolina, as a colony, was chiefly favored by the Huguenots, the Swiss, and the Germans.⁴

Georgia was the latest established.⁵ In 1732 George II gave a charter to certain trustees "to settle that colony." The object was on the one hand philanthropic, on the other military. It was intended as a refuge for the destitute at home as well as a protection against the Spaniards inhabiting Florida. The settlement was begun in 1733, and soon thereafter General Oglethorpe, its founder, was obliged to defend it in the war with Spain (1739-1748).⁶ The constitution always remained far from satisfactory; the people sought to remove to other places farther north, and complained of dire mismanagement. The directors resigning in 1752, the Crown resumed the immediate control of affairs. Until 1755 the form of government continued most primitive, a provincial assembly being first instituted in that year. Greater prosperity thenceforth prevailed until the outbreak of the Revolution.

Before abandoning the consideration of the political aspects and civil organization of these widely scattered communities, which were nevertheless absolutely united from the first by

¹ For some account of these laws, Doyle, "Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas," 335; at length, Winsor, V, 291.

² Merivale, 96; Heeren, 162 (par. 11 note).

³ For North Carolina in more detail, cf. Doyle, "Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas," Ch. XII. For its early history, Bancroft, I, 408-428; II, 9-16; Heeren, 162 (par. 11 note).

⁴ For the settlement and the very early history of South Carolina, cf. Bancroft, I, 408-436; II, 9-16.

⁵ For Georgia, Winsor, V, Ch. VI; Bancroft, II, 281-291, 391, 392.

⁶ For this war, cf. Bancroft, II, 292-313.

the strong tie of their latent aspirations for liberty, let attention for a moment be turned to the earliest alliance which, in fact, existed among some of them. "The United Colonies of New England" was the designation and title adopted in May, 1643, by a convention of the colonial representatives of this section. Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven joined in an agreement of "offence and defence, advice and assistance," then signed at Boston; for six years prior to this date the feasibility of such a league had been discussed. At this epoch the strength of any individual colony was scarcely sufficient to inspire awe on the part of the Indians and obtain the respect of French and Dutch neighbors. Again, by reason of the domestic dissensions of England, these dependencies could not, in case of necessity, have relied on material succor from the mother country. The effective force of combination was soon felt, and its beneficent results were quickly appreciated. Treaties were the following year negotiated with the French, defences were projected against the Dutch, and the submission of many of the Indian tribes was secured. During the period of non-interference by England, the confederation, indeed, presented the spectacle of an independent sovereign power.¹

Aside from the attempt of Governor Andros, just before the revolution of 1688, to abrogate the charters of several colonies with the view of placing these latter under his sole administration,² not any effort was ever seriously made by the accredited agents of the parent state toward the centralization of the local governments. The design rather was to keep some barriers between them; still, the system of alienating the one from the other was not carried by the English Crown to the extent to which the Spaniards pursued that policy in South America. In spite of any precautions England might take, the relations of the North American settlements were irresistibly bringing

¹ For account of the formation and history of this confederation, Doyle, "The Puritan Colonies," Ch. VIII; Fiske, "New England," 140-198, especially 160; more briefly, Bancroft, I, 289-296; Hurlburt, 12-13.

² *Supra*, II, 25, 32.

them into closer friendship with each other.¹ They naturally fell into three groups, whose centres were Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia; for a long time jealousies of a more or less temporary nature restrained these divisions from any feeling of brotherhood; the very fact of their varied origins required a considerable interval to elapse before mutual sympathies could be aroused. Still, English statesmen viewed this possible amity as a menace to their own rule without any adequately early or vigorous endeavor to thwart its consequences. On the other hand, as late as 1757-1763, troops, drawn from nearly all the colonies, were employed in joint operations against Canada. A common patriotism was thus engendered, and what more potent element than the subtle charm of universal public sentiment! In this war the colonists learned to know each other, to value their strength, to realize the difficulties of transporting English troops to this soil, and, above all, to act in unison for their own self-defence.²

The growth of English influence in North America was unparalleled.³ In 1763, just prior to the conquest of the French possessions, the total number of individuals in the English establishments was approximately 1,500,000 souls, while Canada counted only 100,000 people.⁴ About 1780 the population of the regions then in rebellion was estimated at 3,000,000 inhabitants. These dependencies were thus, by the sturdiness of the original settlers, by the training of their descendants, by their liberal institutions, by the groundwork of their civil liberties, by the course of their history, by their phenomenal development, and by the appreciation of their own power and England's weakness, entirely ripe for revolution when the

¹ For the history of the American colonies under the house of Hanover, Bancroft, II, 238-267.

² For this war and the part the Americans took in it, cf. Bancroft, II, 352-545; Parkman, "Half Century of Conflict," and "Montcalm and Wolfe."

³ For a statement of the conditions existing in the thirteen colonies in 1754, cf. Bancroft, II, 389-407.

⁴ For a brief account of the conditions in America at that time and of the rivalry between France and England, cf. Green, "History of the English People," IV, 163-185; *supra*, I, Ch. X.

occasion was presented.¹ It does not come within the province of this treatise to detail the immediate causes of separation arising from existing conditions; the events which occurred are too well known to bear repetition. All are familiar with the succession of oppressive measures; how the stamp act of 1765, the six duties, the tea tax, the closing of Boston harbor, the resolution of Virginia, and the approval of the other colonies finally led to the meeting of the Continental Congress and the Declaration of Independence.² Eulogies of the heroism of America's forefathers would be vain. The nation was born; and English colonization matured into the greatest political fabric ever created.³

It is now proper briefly to review the economic and trade relations of these nascent states; it still remains to speak of the surroundings, regulations, and laws to which society, farming, and commerce were here subject. The English settlements in America constituted almost for the first time colonies purely agricultural in character. There is not any doubt that in their case there were propelling as well as attracting forces at work in favor of emigration from England. Both factors, moving uniformly in harmony to the same ends, are to be duly considered. At first the impulse was mostly from within; general depression and religious fanaticism in Old England then formed the principal reason for the transfer of homes over the sea; subsequently, after the first momentum had been given, the New World by virtue of its manifold advantages naturally drew population from the eastern hemisphere.

The proprietary system, as in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the Carolinas, was inevitably beneficial. The few individuals to whom the Crown had delegated its rights of sovereignty had a direct interest in the results achieved by their

¹ For a French view of the English colonies in North America, written during the Revolution, cf. Raynal, VIII, 444-512, and IX.

² Besides the usual standard histories, the reader who desires a contemporary view of the American Revolution from the English standpoint should consult John Andrews, "History of the War with America, France, Spain, and Holland," 4 vols. (London, 1785).

³ For the argument in favor of the supreme power of the English over the colonists in brief, cf. Macaulay, V, 298-301; Blackstone, I, 105-108.

administration. They usually realized, sooner or later, that the best policy on their part was to leave the details of agriculture and local trade to the settlers. Hence arose the spirit of self-government, so visible from the very earliest epoch and so manifestly developed in the course of the century and a half of colonial life. The proprietors were in the same position as a private landlord; it was to their profit to improve their domains in order to secure the best returns. This they did most liberally. Lord Baltimore, for example, in Maryland laid out in the beginning \$200,000 for public works and promotion. Others were equally generous.¹

A distinction must be made for the acquisitions by conquest, such as New York and New Jersey. The favorites of court, in these instances, were not in any sense colonizers, or economists. The Crown arbitrarily bestowed these territories on the Duke of York, afterward James II. This autocratic gentleman, imbued with notions of tyranny and devoid of the prudence which would have dictated more caution, at once abolished popular rule.² The colony suffered seriously for some time, until finally even its owner, possibly feeling the effects of his misconduct, made important concessions. Virginia fared likewise for thirty-one years under Culpepper and Arlington.³ Maine and New Hampshire were deeded to the Duke of Monmouth. After the revolution of 1688, however, a decided disposition was evinced to restrain the power of the proprietors; the doctrine began to prevail that the landed estates might be granted, but that the administrative authority must be reserved to the Crown.⁴ This change assured impartial and uniform statutes.

In the charter colonies, occasion has already arisen to notice the full degree of liberty exercised by the inhabitants; such a state of public opinion and latitude of action could have only a propitious influence; any society which makes the regula-

¹ Smith, "Wealth of Nations," 450, 650.

² Bancroft, I, 523-524.

³ *Ibid.* I, 452-453.

⁴ For the discussion of the status of the proprietary colonies, cf. Leroy-Beaulieu, 94-98; Merivale, 74; R. and J. 191 et seq.; Blackstone, I, 108.

tions for itself, under which it lives and evolves, will flourish more than one administered by some individual or association at a distance of several thousand miles. This difference is the characteristic distinguishing the English establishments from those of other races. In the case of the latter, it was a company residing in the parent state, which was the fountain head of legislation; in the British possessions of North America the corporation was generally and always, with the exception of a few years, composed of persons domiciled in the colony; the chief seat of its existence was in the land and among those over whom it ruled. It became, in fact, the strong arm of the government; it generated into a democracy. Events of the day also aided this transformation. The colonists, just formulating their principles when the Cromwellian era began, naturally took advantage of this interval of English liberalism to fix firmly the goal of their views. The people of Connecticut and Rhode Island attained in effect the highest degree of independence; they enjoyed perfect autonomy. Over them England never claimed anything more than protectorate rights; they selected their own chief magistrates and subordinate officials, as well as passed all laws, without even the requirement to submit them to the Crown. This practical application of freedom, supplemented by the adoption and perpetuation of the forms and functionaries of English justice, not merely guaranteed the civil and political liberties of the colonies, but not the less decisively vouchsafed their agricultural, commercial, and economic prosperity;¹ rapid increase in population, expansion in territory, and augmentation of wealth were assured; in one phrase, success was a necessity.²

¹ "The capacity for self-government, the kind of political training which combines civil liberty with respect for law, which enables every town or village to govern itself while at the same time national unity is not impaired, is doubtless the most important requisite for success in founding colonies." — FISK, "Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America," I, 130.

² For a brief discussion of the charter colonies, cf. Leroy-Beaulieu, 98-100; Blackstone, "The Laws of England," I, 106; Hurlburt, 10-11, 18-24; Merivale, 106-107; for a comparison of the three varieties of colonial administration, cf. Merivale, 93-94; Blackstone, I, 106-108.

Among the features the most conducive to the public welfare are to be cited the favorable system of real property, the low rates of taxation, and the economical administration of domestic affairs. However defective the measures in the first respect may have been, they were certainly far superior to any previously inaugurated by any other nation. The Crown abandoned all its rights in the soil to the immediate government of the colony, be that proprietor, company, or people. The land was indeed usually taken up by the settlers as they liked;¹ their wonderful dispersion, within a brief period, over wide tracts, was remarkable; how speedily they scattered and receded farther and farther from the coast was extraordinary; not any other limits than their own desire, judgment, and prudence were placed on their capacity and enterprise. They never were bound to live within certain precincts — such as marked out by the Spaniards in South America for the safeguard of the Indians; nor were they restricted in their intercourse or relations with the aborigines. Again, there was not in their midst any vast privileged class, nor any church organization standing ready to absorb in perpetuity the estates of the dead and dying.² The feudal theory was unknown and uncopied. Even in the case of large owners, such as Phillips and Portland in New York, and Fairfax in Virginia, their property was subject to division and sale. The laws of inheritance accomplished much; the opportunity of rental and purchase, more; and the obligation to cultivate a proportionate number of acres under penalty of confiscation, the most, to develop natural resources.³ The protection of titles by permanent records was also, to the smaller proprietors, an assurance of undisturbed possession; they could not be evicted on the slightest pretext of the original grantee of the fee or his heirs, as so often happened in the case of uncertain tenure. The rules of descent were everywhere simple and impartial. Priority, by reason of age, while in some places adopted, never was so important in principle as to sequester realty in a few hands. There were not any special concessions nor any

¹ Merivale, 96.² Smith, "Wealth of Nations," 452.³ *Ibid.* 450.

reserved and wasted lands. The methods of agricultural colonization by companies have been fiercely attacked, but when the enormous progress of the English societies over those of Holland and France is considered, it must be admitted that the evil was here at a minimum.

The American colonies were further characterized by the economy of their administration. Under the English policy they had simply to care for their own sustenance. As the budgets were invariably moderate, their revenues were abundant for their needs. Adam Smith says that the annual expenses averaged from about \$11,500 for Georgia to \$90,000 for Massachusetts; for all the provinces with their three millions of people the total disbursements did not exceed \$323,500 per annum.¹ Several conditions seconded the frugal instincts of the inhabitants. The splendid facilities of interior water courses, magnificent harbors, wide-stretching plains, and rolling pastures rendered any great expenditures for the construction of public works unnecessary. Moreover, the proprietary lords were, frequently in their own interest, disposed to spend money in the introduction of improvements, in advance of actual occupation by settlers, thus relieving these latter of burdens which might otherwise have been considerable.²

Toward the support of the parent state or its general government the dependencies never contributed; this doctrine was in practice always tacitly admitted.³ Some of the legislatures, indeed, voted resolutions to this effect at a very early date, and England did not interpose any tax, demand, or claim of that nature until the period immediately preceding the Revolution. English statesmen preferred—however erroneous their expedients—to foster the growth of American agriculture, trade, and commerce, reaping thereby immense indirect benefits, rather than to limit their development

¹ Smith, 451 et seq.

² For brief discussion of these points,—the system of real property, taxation, and economical administration,—cf. Leroy-Beaulieu, 100-108; Smith, 450-452.

³ *Ibid.* 451.

for the purpose of collecting a paltry sum. So long as this idea prevailed, these establishments, prospering and enlarging, continued to remain loyal.¹ Not any better test of the patriotism of the colonists as British citizens could be adduced than the zeal with which they participated in 1756-1763 in the war against the French. But how soon after this example of fidelity were they to be spurred by lately inaugurated methods of oppression to take up arms in self-defence! Then they were not slow forcibly to reiterate their adherence to that long-cherished theory of the mutual relation between taxation and representation.²

How and why many of the people of England were anxious to emigrate, how they did abandon their fatherland and come to these distant shores, how they founded settlements dependent on England, how they governed themselves and were governed, how they imbibed and extended the natural principles of freedom, how they cultivated the soil, how it was fertile, how they taxed themselves and were not taxed, and how finally, when the attempt was made to tyrannize over them, they revolted, and won their complete liberty,—all these facts have been briefly reviewed. The tenets at the basis of religion and morals are so well known as not to permit elaboration.

In any new country where the members of society are striving to secure the uttermost degree of independence and the largest amount of wealth, the labor question is inevitably difficult of

¹ "Dr. Franklin, when examined before the House of Commons in January, 1766, was asked, 'What was the temper of America before 1763?' In his reply he said: 'The best in the world. They were led by a thread. They had not only a respect, but an affection, for Great Britain, for its people, its laws, its customs and manners, and even a fondness for its fashions that greatly increased the commerce.' Subsequently being asked, 'Suppose Great Britain should be at war in Europe, would North America contribute to the support of it?' he answered: 'I think they would. They consider themselves as part of the British Empire, and as having one common interest with it.'" Hurlburt, 34.

² Again, Franklin was asked, "And have they [the Americans] not the same respect for Parliament now?" when he said, "No; it is greatly lessened." "To what cause is this owing?" "To restraints lately laid on their trade, the prohibition of making paper money among themselves, and then demanding a new and heavy tax by stamps, taking away at the same time trial by jury." Cited by Hurlburt, 34-35.

solution; so it was in this instance. The only apparent limitation upon the productiveness of the fields was the possibility of tilling them. Hence the demand for workmen was far in excess of the supply. The earliest effort designed to satisfy this necessity was in the line of furnishing "indented servants";¹ but the traffic in them became so scandalous that the Privy Council in 1686 eventually prohibited it. These individuals, engaged in England or on the Continent, came under agreement to serve a fixed time, sufficient to reimburse their employers the costs of transportation, besides giving them a handsome profit. The trade was mainly in the hands of special companies, which, upon the arrival of the immigrants in America, awarded their contracts to the highest bidder. The treatment of these men and women was usually more or less cruel; until they had filled out their allotted period of service the right to their toil could be transferred indefinitely. Violations of the provisions of their hiring, involving various penalties, might cause a prolongation of their servitude.² Another source of labor consisted in the convicts deported from England, who were frequently sold to the planters for their term of punishment. In the middle of the eighteenth century the influx of criminals attained the maximum; still, as compared with the total population, the percentage of this element was insignificant.³

Slavery, which was destined to be the shame of centuries and the origin of fratricidal strife in the nation yet unborn, appeared at a very early age. The first vessel to disembark slaves on North American soil was, as elsewhere stated, a Dutch trading ship, which arrived at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1620.⁴ Although throughout the seventeenth century the growth of this class was slow, from the very beginning its influence on legislation is evident. When England, by the Treaty of 1713,⁵ became the chief country interested in this

¹ For the system of "indented servants," cf. Fiske, "Old Virginia and her Neighbors," II, 174-189; Doyle, "Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas," 382.

² Roscher and Jannasch, 311; Merivale, 97; Leroy-Beaulieu, 109-110.

³ Merivale, 97; Leroy-Beaulieu, 108-109; R. and J. 309 et seq.

⁴ *Supra*, II, 18.

⁵ For the Treaty of Utrecht, signed between England and Spain, July 13,

traffic, the scourge rapidly assumed immense proportions.¹ Generally the local governments, owing to their doctrines in religion and politics, were adverse to the curse of human bondage involuntarily inflicted upon them. The action of Georgia and Virginia needs only to be cited. Both these provinces on different occasions passed measures forbidding the introduction of negroes, but the English cabinet promptly annulled them.² Virginia, in her list of grievances drawn up in 1776, included the refusal of the Crown to approve antislavery laws. In 1790 the first census showed 670,000 blacks scattered through the states.³

The relations between the colonists and the Indians afford a subject worthy of study. Many reproach the Anglo-Saxon with the annihilation of the aborigines in the regions where he resides. Whether this result be wilfully secured, is due to mere chance or to the inherent characteristics of the races which he subdues, the Englishman cannot, at least, deny the fact. In the case of those who came to America, the blame, if any, must attach to the parent state, which left them for so many years practically dependent upon their own resources in the organization and maintenance of defences against their inveterate foes. These small bands of pioneers were unable to devise any comprehensive scheme for the control of the native tribes, an achievement which it is doubtful if even England could have accomplished to an extent similar to that realized by the Spaniards in South America. The very weakness of the first settlers induced the Indians to attack them, while

1713, cf. Fiske, "Old Virginia and her Neighbors," II, 190; Cunningham, "Growth of English Industry and Commerce," 314. Article 12 of this treaty reads in part, "The Catholic King grants to the South Sea Company with exclusion of all others the contract for introducing negroes into his American dominions commonly called El Pacto del Assiento de Negros for the space of thirty years beginning from the 1st of May, 1713," Southey, "Chronological History of the West Indies," II, 207-208, 307; *supra*, I, 266 and note 3, 396 note 2.

¹ For the English slave trade, cf. Bancroft, II, 268-280.

² Bancroft, II, 287, 292; III, 413-414; IV, 34, 107, 244; slavery was forbidden in Vermont, *ibid.* V, 162.

³ For slavery generally, in the colonies, cf. Bancroft, I, 119-126; 293, 430, 444, 513, 520, 572; II, 29, 268-280, et varii; also Leroy-Beaulieu, 110-111.

the lack of proper regulations frequently permitted the more daring colonists to infringe upon the old established privileges of the savages.¹ Again, the contrast between the primitive peoples of North and of South America was always most marked. In many parts of the latter section a certain civilization, sometimes crude, again more highly developed, existed; in the former barbarism was universal, docility rare. With due respect, then, to M. Leroy-Beaulieu, he expresses himself too harshly when he says, "The employment of European contract laborers, the slavery of negroes, and the extermination of the Indians are three stains on this brilliant picture of Anglo-American colonization."²

The principles of trade and commerce adopted and practised by England in this earlier period were vastly at variance with the other details of her colonial policy. It is in this sphere that the mother country in theory reserved, and in fact exercised, the greatest authority; it is here that her lawmakers were the most active and the most effective; and it is in this particular that legislation was the most restrictive, as well as the most tinged with the spirit of monopoly and tyranny. Every other advantage of freedom, political and religious, might be accorded the colonists, providing that they tolerated the constant and firm supervision of their extra-local traffic by the English Parliament.³ The dependencies were regarded as the sole sources of supplies, and as privileged markets; the "Colonial Compact," in all its rigor, was evolved.

Prior to 1651 there was not any fixed plan of action, for England had not yet the merchant fleet upon which to base such pretensions, nor a domain commensurate with the exer-

¹ For the relations between the North American colonies and the Indians in general, cf. Bancroft, I, 382-394; II, 86-136, 444; III, 85, 88, et varii; Leroy-Beaulieu, 111.

² Leroy-Beaulieu, 112; also R. and J. 203 et seq., who quote Volney, "Tableau des États Unis," 423, and De Tocqueville, "Democratie en Amérique," II, 271-303. The difference between the Spanish solicitude for the welfare of the Indians and the English indifference toward them is at least very marked.

³ Bancroft, I, 352; II, 70-85; Smith, "Wealth of Nations," 461; Hurlburt, 62-65, 203-207; Merivale, 103 et seq.; Fiske, "New England," 161 et seq.; Heeren, 278-279.

tion; but in that year Parliament, jealous of the Netherlands and eager to foster competition, voted the famous Navigation Act.¹ This measure, in brief, stipulated that all colonial goods imported into England must be brought on English vessels, manned by English sailors; it furthermore enacted, in reference to European products, that they might be admitted only on ships belonging to England or to the nation of origin. The Dutch carrying trade was the most affected, as was the intention, by the law. A little later, under Charles II, a list of so-called "enumerated articles" was drawn up, the transportation of which to other countries was prohibited; they could be sold only to England or her possessions.² Another series of commodities could be exported exclusively by British merchantmen to any region whatsoever.³ Further amendment, made in 1703, declared that wares destined for the colonies must be shipped directly, and in last resort, from England; foreigners were forbidden to do business in these realms. From the beginning this legislation not only occasioned sharp dissent, but its enforcement encountered serious difficulty.⁴

¹ As indicative of the motive for the Navigation Act, Merivale's statement is interesting. "The trade of all the older settlements was perfectly free at the outset, and in the seventeenth century it fell almost wholly into the hands of the Dutch, at that time the great carriers of Europe," "Colonization and Colonies," 75. The principal clause of the Navigation Act was, "That no merchandise either of Asia, Africa, or America, including also the English plantations there, should be imported into England in any but English-built ships, and belonging to England or English-plantation subjects, navigated by English commanders, and three-fourths of the sailors to be English," quoted by Hurlburt, 62; cf. generally Cunningham, 110; Weeden, "Social and Economic History of New England"; Hume, "History of England"; 428; Smith, "Wealth of Nations," 339 et seq.; Bancroft, I, 135-153; Leroy-Beaulieu, 113 et seq.; Heeren, 107 (par. 6 note).

² The list of enumerated articles was increased and modified from time to time, Leroy-Beaulieu, 114.

³ For the Act of 1660, cf. Bancroft, I, 352-353.

⁴ For some account of this measure and its results, cf. R. and J. 207 et seq.; generally, Smith, 459-461, 473 et seq.; Hurlburt, 62 et seq., 204-207; Merivale, 75 et seq., 209-215; Caldecott, 170-176. "The Navigation Act had been passed in 1651, but was a dead letter until 1763, when Grenville obtained a new one and enforced it on all the American seaboard with more than Spanish rigor."—HURLBURT, 34. "Massachusetts would not admit that the navigation laws were binding on her unless sanctioned by her own legislature, and they remained a dead letter from 1651 to 1763."—*Ibid.* 20.

While the Navigation Act was from time to time modified, its spirit and intent never varied.¹ The object to be achieved by it was twofold; upon all items in the nature of raw materials of which in England a scarcity existed, the restriction of exportation only to the parent state was imposed; other merchandise whereof there was an abundance might be sent elsewhere.² The promotion of manufacture was thus accomplished, and, notwithstanding, other outlets were left open for surplus colonial stocks. As late, however, as 1764-1766, a last blow was struck industrial rivals of the North by a provision of law that the latter classes of goods should be consigned only to ports lying south of Cape Finisterre.³ The reimbursement of the dependencies for the limitations placed upon their export trade consisted in the special reservation of the English market for many of their staples, and in the preference given to others by bounties and differential duties.⁴ Although it must be admitted that there was ever a ready disposition to relax the severity of these regulations⁵ when the injury and damage arising from them were as apparent as real, still such exceptions, generally temporarily due to some fortuitous circumstance, only emphasize the exaggerations of the system in its entirety.⁶

Furthermore, English statesmen conceived the idea that for their manufactured articles the colonies must depend on England; and that to this effect even their own energies must be restricted and suppressed.⁷ Toward the close of the seventeenth century certain kinds of American woollens began to appear abroad, threatening to prejudice the sale of

¹ There were twenty-nine acts of Parliament involving this subject, Bancroft, I, 354.

² Bancroft, I, 352-354; Leroy-Beaulieu, 117-120.

³ Smith, "Wealth of Nations," 486; Bancroft, III, 59-74.

⁴ Smith, 500-512.

⁵ The Navigation Act was suspended during the first Dutch war, and again by Charles II, Hume, VI, 96.

⁶ For a general review of the old colonial policy of Great Britain and the Navigation Acts, Merivale, 187-247. For a more modern and excellent discussion, cf. Seeley, "Expansion of England," I, Lect. IV, also Cotton and Payne, 92.

⁷ Cunningham, 228-230; Bancroft, I, 353.

similar English textiles. Consequently in 1699 an act was passed by Parliament forbidding the exportation of such fabrics. Their sale from one province to the other was likewise prohibited.¹ This arbitrary control was the more aggravating, as these regions were peculiarly adapted for sheep raising. Henceforth the principle of repression was gradually extended. Foundries, forges, or other factories in iron and steel — even for making nails and horseshoes — were interdicted;² many other trades were also in time proscribed.³

To offset these measures the Crown undertook to favor the colonists in other directions. For instance, tobacco growing in England was not permitted;⁴ a bounty was long paid on all ship stores and supplies coming from America;⁵ like partiality was shown to those importing thence flax, hemp, raw silk, and indigo.⁶ With the same aim sundry items purchased from other countries were required to pay a higher rate of duty on entering England than competing colonial products. Little by little this complicated scheme of mutual interdependence between the parent state and its possessions was constructed; the theory that the output of the one section of the empire should suffice for the needs of the other, and vice versa, was pushed to its extreme limits.⁷ While these restrictions and concessions seemed so evenly balanced, there was necessarily somewhere a margin of advantage; the scales always leaned toward the metropolis.⁸ Although for many years the colonists remained tranquil under these burdens, their protests were loud and vigorous. Outwardly they observed the laws, but silently and secretly they condemned them, hoping for the day of their repeal or nullification. Long

¹ Smith, 458; Bancroft, II, 80-82, 86-88.

² For a summary statement of the details of this policy, R. and J. 215 et seq.; 11 and 12, William III, Ch. 13; Bancroft, I, 356; Smith, 458; Merivale, 219.

³ Cf. generally Leroy-Beaulieu, 120-124; for further details, cf. "Restrictions on Trade and Manufacture," Bancroft, II, 39-45, 356-359; III, 71, 78.

⁴ 12 Charles II, Ch. 34; 15 Charles II, Ch. 7, 22, and 23; 18 Charles II, Ch. 26.

⁵ 3 and 4 Anne, Ch. 10.

⁶ 21 George II, Ch. 30; 4 George III, Ch. 26; Bancroft, III, 71, 459, et seq.; raw materials were in general favored, R. and J. 217 et seq.

⁷ Merivale, 97-98; Leroy-Beaulieu, 122.

⁸ Merivale, 77.

before the actual opening of hostilities, foreign travellers reported the low murmurings of general discontent.¹

England, whether ignorantly or as a means of oppression, constantly enforced more and more severely the obnoxious provisions;² the most enlightened of her statesmen failed to see that, not merely the question of one or more taxes, but rather the entire economic system, was the occasion of complaint.³ The prevailing blindness of her people to the true policy of colonial government was remarkable. Their terror when they realized that the thirteen colonies were lost was not stranger nor more absurd. It was imagined that the prosperity of England was at an end; that American sellers and purchasers would seek other markets; that the nation, by the withdrawal of this trade, would be ruined.⁴ A more preposterous idea never existed; and subsequent events proved its fallacy. The transactions between England and the United States soon increased to more than double those of former days. Just prior to the outbreak of the Revolution, the total of exports from Great Britain to the thirteen colonies annually averaged \$15,000,000; in 1784 it was \$17,800,000; in 1806, \$61,000,000.⁵ It is well known how enormously and

¹ Peter Kalm, a Swedish traveller who visited New York in 1748, attributes the maintenance of English authority to the fear on the part of the colonists of the French in Canada, and says, "that even Englishmen who have come out to the colonies tell him that within thirty or fifty years the plantations may be strong enough to erect a state for themselves and to become entirely independent of Old England," "Journey in America," 114-115. How well this prophecy was fulfilled! In this same connection Green says, "With the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham began the history of the United States. By removing an enemy whose dread had knit the colonies to the mother country, and by breaking through the line with which France had barred them from the basin of the Mississippi, Pitt laid the foundation of the Great Republic of the West," "History of England," IV, 189.

² Bancroft, III, 35, 59-65, 249, 259, 264; *supra*, II, 45-47.

³ Bancroft, II, 546-563; for a brief statement, cf. Heeren, 279-281.

⁴ "What startled men most the moment after [the American Revolution] was the discovery that England herself was far from being ruined by the greatness of her defeat."—GREEN, IV, 264. "The inhabitants of Bristol imagined that in the event of American independence their port would be deserted, and that its receipts would not any longer cover its disbursements."—J. B. SAY, 297; Leroy-Beaulieu, 124.

⁵ Heeren, 285; also Porter, "Progress of the Nation," II, 102, quoted by R. and J. 223 et seq.; Leroy-Beaulieu, 125.

not the less steadily the commercial relations between the two countries have ever since then continued to augment.

Brief attention should now be given to the other acquisitions of England on the North American mainland. Frobisher, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, undoubtedly reached Hudson's Bay (1576-1578),¹ but the glory of penetrating it farther to the northward was reserved to the distinguished man whose name it bears and whose grave it is. Henry Hudson explored these waters for the first time in 1610, while in the employ of the Dutch East India Company; but the French were the earliest to attempt traffic with the aborigines. The English, in 1670, organized the Hudson's Bay Company, with a capital stock of \$50,000 in round figures.² The objects of this corporation were the colonization of the lands under its control and the development of the fur business; in certain lines it was granted an exclusive monopoly. Its territory extended from the northern frontiers of Canada to the polar circle and westward to the Pacific; but for several years its tenure was threatened by the oft-repeated attacks of the French. In 1685 Englishmen were expelled from the whole district, with the exception of Port Nelson; the Peace of 1713 however finally decided these differences in their favor, and they were then permanently reinstalled. Thenceforth the Company prospered and was undisturbed; the skins bought from the Indians at nominal prices and sold at enormous profit in Europe formed the source of great wealth and large dividends;³ while the country, on the other hand, was too desolate for settlement.⁴

One of the connecting links between the old and the new colonial systems of England is Canada; its conquest in 1763, occurring just before the loss of the thirteen colonies, was nearly at the close of the former era and the opening of the

¹ Hume, IV, 365.

² Cunningham, 601; Fiske, "Discovery of America," II, 540, 548.

³ Prior to the end of the eighteenth century the dividends varied from sixty to seventy per cent per annum; in those days nearly all the stock was owned by nine or ten people, R. and J. 266 et seq.

⁴ Raynal, VIII, 363-379.

latter epoch. During many years France and England had been envious of each other's possessions. Both nations seemed to realize that only one race could inherit North America, and that the other must retire. Although France claimed the Mississippi Valley, the English, not admitting this pretension, defiantly located at various points. In 1756 war between the two rivals broke out in Europe, and almost at once spread to the western hemisphere. Louisburg, the key of Canada, was taken in 1758, and, after heroic struggles, in 1759 Quebec, and in 1760 Montreal fell.¹ With these successes Englishmen believed they were on the point of dominating the entire Northern half of this continent; the course of events destined them to disappointment, for in fact Canada was only to afford England a field for the transfer of her activities from the colonies, which were about to rebel, and which its acquisition could not compensate, but merely in part supersede. In the history of French rule, reference has already been made to the growth of this region prior to the English occupation; at that time its population did not exceed 65,000, chiefly residing in the basin of the St. Lawrence. The main portion of the richer classes immediately returned to Europe, leaving only the poorer inhabitants to yield homage to victors.²

For ten years after its capture Canada was subject to military administration. The Crown in its efforts to stimulate immigration with the view of Anglicizing the people, offered strong inducements to the veterans of the Franco-Indian conflicts to settle in the newly won territory.³ England promised a revised constitution in 1764, when it was feared that the colony might be lost. Finally, in 1774, the so-called Quebec Act was passed by Parliament; the reverse of liberal, it conformed more closely to the desires of the French than to those of the English element. All Canada was constituted one province, to be known as Quebec. Most

¹ For prior history of Canada, cf. *supra*, I, 360-382.

² For a French view of Canada and other British North American possessions in the latter part of the eighteenth century, cf. Raynal, VIII, 379-445.

³ Payne, 147.

of the French laws, including land legislation and the perpetuation of the Roman Catholic Church, were reenacted. A governor and a council were charged with the management of affairs. This policy, however antiquated, was at that moment the most prudent; it assured the loyalty of the French-Canadians, who were then in the majority. Canada was thus saved to England; for when the troops of the revolutionary colonies invaded it, the masses, satisfied with their own existing government, were more than apathetic; they were hostile. By the Quebec Act a colonial secretary was created in London, and from that functionary the present colonial office has developed. The most remarkable feature of the measure was the recognition of the Catholic Church, — the first acknowledgment of it since the establishment of Protestantism in England.¹ This régime remained in force until 1791, when the effect of the independence of the United States was manifest in the reforms then adopted.² But the story of the subsequent concessions, accompanied with incipient rebellion, must temporarily be postponed, as it properly belongs to the narrative of later English colonization.

¹ For the Quebec Act, Munro, "Constitutions of Canada," 16; Martineau, "History of England," IV, 127-128; Leroy-Beaulieu, 587; Payne, 147-148.

² Hurlburt, 37; Merivale, 106.

CHAPTER XVIII

EARLY ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN THE WEST INDIES AND IN THE ORIENT

To Sir Walter Raleigh the original foothold of England in the West Indies was due;¹ on his personally commanded expedition to Guiana he touched, in 1595, at Trinidad, previously claimed by the Spaniards, and took possession of it in the name of Queen Elizabeth.² In 1605 Barbados was visited by English seamen, who left as a record an inscription cut on a tree.³ The London Company sent out settlers in 1612 to inhabit the Bermudas,⁴ but the prosperity of the colony did not begin until 1619, when its first assembly convened and a constitution was voted.⁵ As previously stated in another chapter, Thomas Warner and some companions located in 1625 on St. Christopher.⁶ Slowly but surely the various nations of Europe were appropriating these islands, and England did not hesitate to secure her share. Nevis was occupied in 1628; Montserrat and Antigua in 1632.⁷ Primarily the object of the English in fixing themselves in this vicinity was, like that of the French, to prey on Spanish commerce. French, Dutch, and English adventurers, moved by the same

¹ For the expedition of Drake in 1586, its causes and results, cf. Hume, IV, 210-211.

² Southey, "Chronological History of the West Indies," I, 218 et seq.; Thomson, "Raleigh," 50-51; *supra*, II, 7.

³ Southey, "West Indies," I, 234 et seq.; Lucas, "Historical Geography of the British Colonies," II, 168; Caldecott, 91.

⁴ Southey, "West Indies," I, 246; Caldecott, 91.

⁵ Southey, I, 251; Heeren, 89 (par. 14 note).

⁶ *Supra*, I, 389 et seq.; Southey, "West Indies," I, 254, 257, 259 et seq., 277; Payne, 66.

⁷ Southey, I, 262, 270; for confirmation of all these dates, cf. Heeren, 115 (par. 11 note).

motives, here pursued the lucrative profession of freebooting.¹ To weaken the power of Spain being the unanimous aim of all other nationalities at that epoch, everything conducive to this end was at least silently approved.² It was thus that the English tolerated the privateers and buccaneers of these seas, who were by law compelled to divide their illegal gains with the treasury. The inhabitants of these regions became so addicted to this mode of life, that when Spain, finally abjuring many of its pretensions, negotiated a compromise with its rivals, England found it exceedingly difficult to control her own unruly citizens. Pirates in fact continued to ply their vocation in these waters until the dawn of the nineteenth century.³

The earliest of the English communities to flourish was on Barbados.⁴ Beginning in 1625, considerable numbers of colonists proceeded thither, attracted by the fertility of the soil and the liberal form of government. At the outset most of these settlements, due to individual efforts, like those of the French, were absolutely free, except for a nominal adherence to the Crown.⁵ As they developed, however, the reigning house, anxious to reward political favorites, granted them out to its supporters. Barbados and other islands were first deeded to the family of Carlisle;⁶ this gift was very brief, for the noble lord, having failed to win the allegiance of his new subjects, returned them; they were then accorded to the Duke

¹ For some account of the filibusters, cf. Raynal, V, 279-319.

² *Supra*, I, 351, 385, 392.

³ For brief account of the buccaneers, cf. Payne, 67-68; Southey, II, 37, et *varii*. One of the best known of these freebooters is Captain William Kidd, originally a citizen of New York, who was selected by the colonial government to extirpate the pirates of the West Indian waters. Kidd went to England, secured and equipped a ship at public expense, returned on it to New York, and finally, after enlisting the necessary crew, sailed from the Hudson in 1697; but scarcely had he left port when he himself turned pirate and soon became the terror of the Eastern seas; subsequently he was captured and executed, Macaulay, V, 456-464.

⁴ Greswell, "British Colonization," 8.

⁵ "The original cause for emigration from England to the West Indies was the desire on the part of the colonists to escape political tumults at home and to find a peaceable refuge." — RAYNAL, V, 362. For the earliest form of government, *ibid.* 364 et seq.

⁶ Southey, I, 262-269; Lucas, II, 170.

of Marlborough and subsequently to the Earl of Pembroke.¹ In 1632 the Duke of Montague, having been installed as proprietor of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, despatched a brilliant and formidable expedition to defend and colonize his lately acquired domains, but owing to French hostility the result was a dismal misfortune.²

The products of Barbados were then principally tobacco, indigo, and cotton; there was also very generally cultivated a peculiar shrub, from which an agreeable sweet drink was brewed. In 1640 those portions of Brazil which had fallen into the hands of the Dutch Company during Spanish supremacy over Portugal were, on this latter country's recovery of its independence, restored to it by the States-General of Holland.³ The eviction of the corporation led to the removal of many of its officials and employees; Brazil had tempted the Dutch by reason of its wealth of sugar, which they during their partial occupation had wonderfully increased; when they scattered thence, they carried with them their knowledge of this culture. One of these emigrants reached Barbados, where, perceiving the ignorance of the English settlers, he undertook to give them most valuable instruction. He taught them that the plant from which their pleasant beverage was made was in fact the cane. They unknowingly had never let it ripen, cutting it down after twelve months instead of fifteen.⁴ The island immediately achieved prosperity; plantations sprang up on all sides. Within ten years after the discovery, 50,000 whites and 100,000 negroes were engaged in the industry.⁵

¹ Merivale, 78 et seq.

² For this early period in the history of the West Indies, cf. Rosscher and Jannasch, 188 et seq.; Raynal, V, 375-383; Leroy-Beaulieu, 115-116; Anderson, III, 133; Caldecott, 91.

³ *Supra*, I, 217, 350.

⁴ Sugar was introduced into Barbados in 1640, Johnston, 101; Southey, I, 284.

⁵ For this epoch, cf. Leroy-Beaulieu, 116; Heeren, 115 (par. 11); Payne, 68-69. Merivale, in giving the figures mentioned in the text, says, "and this before the commencement of the cultivation of sugar, which was not introduced until 1640," "Colonization and Colonies," 79-80. He further says, "The great sources of this prosperity were the freedom of the legitimate trade, then chiefly carried on in Dutch vessels, and the extension of the priva-

During the Commonwealth other circumstances combined to cause Barbados to thrive. Cromwell not only left it in the enjoyment of complete freedom, but aided its progress by sending thither as slaves many of his captured enemies.¹ James II adopted the same policy, deporting to it in 1685 all the political prisoners taken in the rebellion of Monmouth.² The usual profits of a sugar planter were at this date estimated to be fifty per cent per annum. About 1670 was the year of greatest affluence. To Cromwell likewise the two fatal strokes inflicted on this success were due.³

The first act was as indirect as it was unintentional. In order to decide forever the question of supremacy in the West Indies and to end the annoyance arising from the proximity of the Spaniards, the Protector determined to drive these people out of St. Domingo. Generals Penn and Venables, with 10,000 men, were chosen in 1655 to accomplish this task. Defeated in their main purpose, but ashamed or afraid to go back without some exploit, they suddenly turned against Jamaica; it surrendered to them.⁴ This island had not yet attained renown, owing to the poverty and the idleness of the colonists; for the Spaniards who resided there were too poor to hire the necessary labor, and themselves too haughty to work. Cromwell was so pleased at the outcome of his plans⁵ that he made every effort to develop the resources of this new possession, which speedily rose in prominence. While Barbados

teering or contraband trade with the Spanish settlements," *ibid.* 79. Besides the attraction of sugar planting, political troubles in the mother country also tended to increase immigration to Barbados, Lucas, II, 178; Greswell, 9.

¹ Southey, I, 321.

² The total number of persons deported at this time was 841; Macaulay, I, 582.

³ Cunningham, 149.

⁴ For this expedition, "Hand Book of Jamaica" (1885-1886), 34; Thomas Carlyle, "Oliver Cromwell," III, 31, 36, 39; Southey, I, 1-9; Lucas, II, 95; Hume, V, 461, 462; Raynal, V, 268-275; more briefly Payne, 69-70; Merivale, 80.

⁵ His satisfaction was an afterthought; for at first, upon the return of the fleet, he had, in his rage at the failure to capture St. Domingo, thrown both commanders into the Tower. War with Spain resulted from this expedition, Hume, V, 462. For Cromwell's proclamation relative to Jamaica, cf. Southey, II, 9.

was mostly inhabited by royalists,¹ Jamaica became the home of the Puritans;² because of religious scruples numerous individuals emigrated from the former to the latter; many other settlers were assured by the action of the Scotch and Irish authorities in shipping large throngs of the destitute and idle classes thither.³ Jamaica proved as well adapted as Barbados for sugar planting, and this industry formed the foundation for its good fortune.⁴

In 1660 the famous division of the West Indies between France and England took place. Those absolutely ceded to the English Crown were Barbados, Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat. Several times subsequently war transferred them from one to the other nation, but at the close of the eighteenth century England was firmly established in Dominica, St. Lucia, Antigua,⁵ St. Vincent, Tobago, and Trinidad.⁶ Among the effects which the occupation of these regions imposed upon the mother country, the more active participation in the slave trade was one of the most important and pernicious. To grow sugar, plenty of cheap labor was required, and it was believed in those days — a theory now discredited — that slaves were not merely economical, but peculiarly appropriate for this culture.⁷ After sharing the traffic for a hundred years with others, the English therefore, in 1713, insisted upon an exclusive monopoly.⁸ Shame to the planters, it was among them that the negroes received the worst treatment. During the eighteenth century it was considered in Jamaica light punishment to hang the blacks in chains, leaving them to starve to death; the more approved method of execution was by torture over a slow fire.⁹

¹ Lucas, II, 179.

² Greswell, 6.

³ Southey, I, 11 et seq.; Payne, 70.

⁴ Payne, 70.

⁵ Antigua was colonized from Barbados about 1670, Merivale, 79.

⁶ For this division, cf. *supra*, I, 398; Payne, 75; Southey, II, 79-81. For the early history of the minor Islands under English rule, cf. Raynal, V, 383-407, 456-540; also Southey, "West Indies."

⁷ On this question, cf. Smith, "Wealth of Nations," 462-463.

⁸ *Supra* I, 266 and note 3, 396 note 2, II, 43, and note 5; also Seeley.

"Expansion of England," 135-137; Lucas, II, 65; Southey, "West Indies," II, 207-208, 307.

⁹ Payne, 74; although 676,276 negroes were imported into Jamaica prior to

A few years after the acquisition of Jamaica,¹ the rapid development of the English West Indies rendered them most valuable to the parent state. In 1670 it is said that 250,000 persons were employed in connection with the plantations, and the welfare of 1,000,000 individuals was indirectly dependent upon the conditions existing in them.² To appreciate the significance of these figures, England, it must be remembered, had then only 7,000,000 inhabitants. These possessions seem during the seventeenth century to have derived material advantage from the civil dissensions at home; when they were ended, general stagnation prevailed, from which Jamaica alone was exempt. Subsequently to 1670, the approximate date at which the West Indies were the most uniformly well-to-do, Jamaica flourished; but the other islands gradually declined. In spite of earthquakes, hurricanes, revolts of the slaves and political upheavals, Jamaica continued to prosper and enormously profit by the sugar industry until the period of the American Revolution.³

The most remarkable collapse occurred in Barbados,⁴ the first to thrive, and likewise the earliest to fall. The one blow attributable to Cromwell was the conquest of Jamaica, which drew steadily on the resources of its neighbor; the other was the passage of the celebrated Navigation Act, the evil effects of which were manifest here not less than on the continent.⁵ This measure, the reckless exhaustion of the soil, and the residence of the royalists, as large landed proprietors, hastened decadence. The white population decreased from 70,000 in 1670, to 18,000 in 1724.⁶

1787, the total number in that island at that date was only 256,000, Southey, III, 14-15.

¹ Regular government was established first in 1661, Southey, II, 56, 37-40, 48-82.

² Lucas, II, 185.

³ For the history of Jamaica prior to 1775, cf. Raynal, V, 407-456; Southey, "West Indies"; Leroy-Beaulieu, 117; Merivale, 80-83; in brief, Caldecott, 92 et seq.; Heeren, 161 (par. 10); Anderson, II, 203, III, 180.

⁴ Lucas, II, 186.

⁵ *Supra*, II, 45-48; Southey, II, 30-31.

⁶ Merivale, 78-83; absenteeism of the wealthy planters is to be reckoned as another curse, *ibid.* 82.

Nearly all the other English West Indies similarly suffered, but in a lesser degree. Exterior causes, together with the influence of badly conceived laws, seconded the issue. The wonderful progress of the French Antilles in the eighteenth century was most injurious.¹ France at that time, as compared with England, was liberal in her colonial policy, and the French islands, being the later settled and cultivated, longer retained their fertility and productive capacity. In sugar planting the benefit of a new soil outweighs every other factor; for this reason alone St. Domingo was destined to surpass Jamaica.² To natural obstacles many artificial regulations added the capstone of destruction. In the English realms the process of refining was forbidden, a restriction long unknown to their rivals. A protracted quarrel with the French, growing out of the American colonial conflict, also involved the planters in other prejudicial legislation; but the principal difficulty was the enforcement of the frequently modified Navigation Act.³ The Revolution of the thirteen colonies sealed the fate of these regions.⁴ After the independence of the United States they were required to transfer their trade to Canada, farther removed, and affording a very limited market.⁵ Instead of drawing their supplies of lumber and cereals from neighboring ports, they were obliged to seek them far in the north; but Canada experienced, on several occasions, a scarcity of products of the first necessity, which were then entirely reserved for home consumption; consequently famine appeared in the West Indies. Insufficiency of food meant reduction in the activity of labor. Fifteen thousand slaves are said to have died of

¹ Cunningham, 311.

² Merivale, 80, 85; Leroy-Beaulieu, 190; Heeren, 200 (par. 5); *supra*, I, 399-400 and notes.

³ *Supra*, II, 45-48, 58.

⁴ "But after the American war the evils complained of became more inveterate and from that time the notes of distress have been continually poured forth by men conscious of the uneasiness and loss which was inevitably entailed on them by the forced nature of their trade, but never attributing it to the right cause, and crying out for more monopoly in order to redress those evils which monopoly itself inflicted." — MERIVALE, 84.

⁵ R. and J. 240; Merivale, 84-85.

starvation between 1780 and 1787.¹ The excess of devotion to the one article — sugar — had its own reaction; there was not any place for the growth of grain or vegetables. Extraordinary phenomena — great storms and violent earthquakes — likewise precipitated misfortune. The death knell of former prosperity was tolling on every side at the dawn of the nineteenth century.²

Of British Guiana,³ previous to 1800, little is to be noted; for administrative purposes it was always considered part of the West Indies. After Raleigh's expedition of 1617-1618⁴ a small colony was established; but this settlement stagnated. In 1674 a portion of this territory was ceded to Holland in exchange for the province of New York.⁵ The remainder of the history of Guiana consists of details and vicissitudes very similar to those happening in the islands. It was not until the wars following the French Revolution that Englishmen effectually and strongly fixed themselves in this land.

While England was thus, during two centuries, so assiduous in the West, her statesmen were not unmindful of the opportunities of the Orient. Naturally influenced by international events, the attraction of East Indian wealth, and the prevailing conditions at home,⁶ many of them judged it wise to participate in the general movement of Europeans beyond the Cape of Good Hope. The one characteristic marking English enterprises in the East, quite as decisively as those of the Dutch,

¹ "Hand Book of Jamaica" (1885-1886), 14; Southey, III, 15. In 1787 the population of the British West Indies was 525,607 individuals of whom 49,762 were whites, 10,569 free colored, and 465,276 slaves. From its capture to that date 676,276 negroes were imported into Jamaica alone, *ibid.* III, 14-15. The valuation of British property about this time in the West Indies was £86,556,000.

² For a brief statement of the conditions existing at this epoch, cf. Heeren, 286-287 (par. 23 note). For the period of the decline of the British West Indies, cf. briefly, Leroy-Beaulieu, 125-127, 190-191; Merivale, 80-86. During the Napoleonic wars they suffered a slight revival of prosperity which however was more apparent than real, Merivale, 86. For the early history of the West Indies prior to 1817 in detail, cf. Southey, "West Indies."

³ For Guiana, cf. Greswell, 15; Lucas, II, Ch. VIII; Southey, "West Indies."

⁴ *Ibid.* I, 247-251; cf. *supra*, II, 7, note 2.

⁵ Southey, II, 107; Caldecott, 92.

⁶ Mill, "History of British India," I, 3.

is the manifestation of the commercial spirit. In the earliest stages of their career the inducement was purely mercantile. Politics and religion, so potent in the development of America, here counted for little. Increase of trade was the sole motive which first drew England to those regions where the stupendous fabric of the Indian Empire has been erected.¹

Among the numerous corporations created during the reign of Elizabeth²—such as the Russian, the African, and the Levant companies³—the most important was the original East India Company, chartered on the last day of 1600 as “The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies.”⁴ The unfortunate termination of the voyage of

¹ For some brief account of India, its people and history, before the arrival of the English, cf. Cotton and Payne, “Colonies and Dependencies,” 4-20, where are cited two more important works, “Short History of India,” by J. Talbot Wheeler (1880) and “Brief History of the Indian People,” by W. W. Hunter (1882).

² Heeren, 88 (par. 13). The tendency of this age was toward public monopolies; in England, France, and Holland the conditions were similar. Cf. R. and J. 258; *supra*, II. 16 and note 1. As an illustration of the extent to which monopoly ran, Hume, writing of conditions a few years later, says: “James had already of his own accord called in and annulled all the numerous patents for monopolies which had been granted by his predecessor, and which extremely fettered every species of domestic industry; but the exclusive companies still remained, another species of monopoly, by which almost all foreign trade, except that to France, was brought into the hands of a few rapacious engrossers, and all prospect of future improvement in commerce was forever sacrificed to a little temporary advantage of the sovereign. These companies, though arbitrarily organized, had carried their privileges so far that almost all the commerce of England was centred in London, and it appeared that the customs of that port amounted to £110,000 a year, while those of all the kingdom beside yielded only £17,000, nay, the whole trade of London was confined to about 200 citizens, who were easily enabled, by combining among themselves, to fix whatever price they pleased both to the exports and imports of the nation. The committee appointed to consider this enormous grievance, one of the greatest which we read of in English story, insist on it . . . that shipping and seamen had insensibly degraded during all the preceding reign.”—“History of England,” IV, 395 and note; cf. *ibid.* III, 74-75; IV, 385 et seq.

³ For some account of these other companies, cf. Smith, “Wealth of Nations,” 579-590.

⁴ Mill, “British India,” I, 17; Auber, “Rise and Progress of the British Power in India,” I, 10; Payne, 57; Heeren, 88 (par. 13 note); Raynal, II, 14-21; Cotton and Payne, 20; Smith, 590. The stock of the Company was £72,000, Hume, IV, 395; Macaulay, IV, 224. “The members at first took shares in each voyage, just as merchants had combined for shipping interests

James Lancaster, undertaken in 1591, undoubtedly occasioned the formation of this organization.¹ Those by whom he had been encouraged were still undaunted, and were resolved, by the combination of their resources, to endeavor to achieve some enduring results. The Dutch East India Company, as learned, was founded only on March 29, 1602.² Thus the English society might well claim priority; for in May, 1601, its first fleet of five vessels sailed, Lancaster in command.³ Englishmen, however, were, for very evident reasons, slower than the Dutch in the evolution of their power in the Orient. The latter, as already known, rapidly rose to first rank in the Eastern trade; the English were destined for a long period to be their rivals before they became their competitors, much less their superiors. In many respects these two peoples were then upon friendly terms; opposing the common enemy, Spain, they could afford to be generous to each other. For the principle of the freedom of the seas they fought shoulder to shoulder, as for the one doctrine the recognition of which would give them independence of action and the chance for growth.

Within the body politic of both nations the theory of restriction prevailed.⁴ Like its adversary in Holland, the English East India Company was also the grantee of an exclusive monopoly. Elizabeth pledged herself not to license another similar corporation within fifteen years. This so-called "London" association nevertheless languished because of its indisposition or inability to secure permanent fortified stations in the Orient; the capital stock being at the outset only \$360,000, it was obliged to be satisfied with mere factories on the coast of Hindustan. How the English energetically competed with the Dutch,⁵ how in 1619, by treaty,

from time immemorial. Each separate voyage was a joint stock, and the members were very particular in forming rules against private trading by any of their factors."—CUNNINGHAM, 26. This continued until 1612, when it was determined to have one joint stock only, to be managed by the governor and directors.

¹ Harris, "Voyages," I, 875; *supra*, II, 9, note 1.

² *Supra*, I, 317 et seq.

³ Cf. *supra*, II, 9.

⁴ Heeren, 88 (par. 13 note).

⁵ Hume, IV, 517.

the division of the Molucca and Banda islands was made, and how subsequently the massacre at Amboyna took place, have elsewhere been recounted.¹ The people, then unprepared for any other than the peaceful pursuit of commerce, consequently making a virtue of necessity, and resigning all share in the spice trade, limited their intercourse thenceforth entirely to the continent of India.² Little would it have been predicted that the insignificant settlements on the sites of Bombay, Fort William,³ and Fort St. George⁴ would eventually dominate the whole peninsula.⁵

The East Indian organization, which had previously transacted business solely for the account of its founders, received a decided impetus in 1612⁶ by being converted into a joint stock company.⁷ The reputation of the nation was vastly improved by its successful participation in 1622 with the Persians in driving the Portuguese out of Ormus.⁸ In 1632 a compact was concluded with the Great Mogul, by which many concessions were accorded as well as the sanction for establishments in Cochin-China, China, and on the islands of Chusan, Borneo, Formosa, Java, and Sumatra. About this time the English began to erect forts and locate garrisons — especially along the coast of the Indian mainland — under the pretext of defending the natives against the aggressions of the Dutch.⁹ Before 1640 the London Company was not only amassing wealth, but had also attained much prestige. The yearly profits were then amounting to one hundred to two hundred per cent,¹⁰ but

¹ *Supra*, I, 317 et seq.

² For this period, cf. Heeren, 115 (par. 10).

³ Fort William was established on the site of Calcutta in 1686, Auber, I, 15.

⁴ The first English settlement on the mainland of India was made in 1639 at Fort St. George, now Madras, *ibid.* I, 14.

⁵ Still, from such trading posts almost all the greater commercial colonies have sprung, R. and J. 12.

⁶ Mill, I, 21.

⁷ Prior to this date it was a regulated company; only in 1624 did the Company obtain the right to govern its own employees abroad; in 1661 the power of waging war against non-Christian states was conferred upon it; cf. also Smith, 590 et seq.

⁸ Raynal, II, 27-36; *supra*, I, 318.

⁹ The early policy of the Company under the advice of Sir Thomas Roe had been adverse to the erection of fortifications, Mill, I, 29 et seq.

¹⁰ Payne, 61.

the fulness of its prosperity was not reached until after the era of the Commonwealth. Severe tribulations were first to be suffered. Cromwell, favorably inclined to the enjoyment of the highest possible degree of liberty, thought little of the maintenance of a monopoly in such a remote portion of the world as India seemed to him. He therefore proclaimed the trade free and open to every Englishman.¹ This blow was well calculated to be fatal (1655), large quantities of goods being at once imported under private enterprise. But the Protector himself, perceiving his error, three years later restored all privileges upon the condition that trading licenses should be issued to individuals.² Charles II not only confirmed these grants, but added the chief attribute of sovereign power—the right to declare and carry on war.³

The Company at this date was a close corporation supplying its own needs; it constructed its ships, equipped, armed, and provisioned them, manufacturing everything required in its dockyards; these latter occupied extensive areas at Deptford and Blackwell. In them every kind of artisan, shipwright, gunner, carpenter, mason, furniture-maker, baker, and many others were at work. Although large numbers of vessels were thus being annually built, the demand was greater than their capacity; for privately owned craft were being constantly chartered to transport Indian merchandise.⁴ The most glorious epoch in the career of the old London Company was from 1662 to 1689.⁵ Tea, which the Dutch had been handling on a petty scale since 1641, had not yet achieved any popularity as a beverage; the distinction of its first general usage was reserved to the

¹ Mill, I, 60.

² *Ibid.* 61; Heeren, 115 (par. 10).

³ Lyall, "Rise of the British Dominion in India," 15; Raynal, II, 36-39.

⁴ Payne, 61.

⁵ For some account of the interior management of the Company during this period, cf. Raynal, II, 40-46. "The commerce and riches of England did never during any period increase so fast as from the Restoration to the Revolution. The two Dutch wars, by disturbing the trade of that republic, promoted the navigation of this island, and after Charles had made a separate peace with the states his subjects enjoyed unmolested the trade of Europe."—HUME, IV, 369.

English nation. In 1669 it was at last brought in bulk to England, where it suddenly won fame.¹

The society, thus prolonging its good fortune, accumulated such riches as to excite the envy of the government. Not only did William III place a tax of five per cent on its stock,² but when in 1693 the question of the renewal of its charter arose, Parliament, in revising it, imposed a provision that every British subject might engage in the Eastern trade;³ not long afterward a duty was also voted on all Indian products introduced into England. About the same time the Great Mogul was waging a lengthy and costly war on the Indian establishments. Although the event was significant from a territorial standpoint, it greatly strained the corporation's finances.⁴ The site of Bombay had formed in 1661 a part of the dowry of the queen of Charles II,⁵ and Fort William⁶—at present Calcutta—was erected in 1686. Thus, while the possessions of the Company were increasing, it was being weighed down with indebtedness and official regulations; its freedom of action was lost. The final stroke was soon to be given.⁷

Toward the end of the seventeenth century the Crown, sadly in want of money by reason of long hostilities with France, was glad to profit by any occasion to obtain it. Some capitalists who had long been endeavoring to overthrow the prevailing monopoly in the Indian traffic, then taking advantage of the conjunction of affairs and of the necessities of the treasury, proposed to advance a loan of £2,000,000 sterling at eight per cent

¹ Cf. Isaac Disraeli, "Curiosities of Literature," II, 317 et seq.; Essay on "Introduction of Tea, Coffee, and Chocolate."

² Payne, 61.

³ Macaulay, V, 526-527.

⁴ In 1676 it is stated that the Company was in debt to the amount of £600,000, Mill, I, 101. French privateers were also causing considerable annoyance to its fleets, Macaulay, V, 69; and large sums were being spent at home in bribing cabinet ministers and members of Parliament to sustain the Company's exclusive privileges, *ibid.* IV, 485; V, 23-24.

⁵ Hume, VI, 23.

⁶ *Supra*, II, 63, notes 3 and 4.

⁷ For a good brief history of the Old London Company prior to 1688, cf. Macaulay, IV, 224-236; for the period 1661-1700, cf. Heeren, 162-163 (par. 13 and note).

in consideration of the grant of independent rights for the Orient.¹ The temptation was strong; the government yielded, and on September 5, 1698, the so-called "English Company" came into existence.² Its predecessor was paralyzed, and for three years suspended business. The new association meanwhile exhibited remarkable activity, sending out not only many fleets of ships, but even millions of coin to the Indies. The charter of the old society did not expire until 1701; although it had ceased trading upon the creation of its rival, it had nevertheless proceeded more vigorously to fortify its settlements in India, so that they could not be appropriated by any other claimant without a serious struggle.³

The outlook was thus critical, when by an adroit move on the part of some of the stockholders of the dispossessed organization, which through its treasurer had purchased shares to the value of £350,000 in the English Company,⁴ the latter was induced to suggest a compromise of differences by the fusion of the two corporations.⁵ In 1702 the amalgamation was concluded under the name and designation of the "United Company of Merchants Trading to the East Indies."⁶ In 1711 the title of the "English East India Company" was readopted.⁷ During this brief period of instability and apparent conflict the Dutch made desperate efforts to assure themselves of the permanence of their own commerce, but they were doomed to

¹ More especially for this loan, which was by public subscription, cf. Macaulay, V, 303, 304, 308. The old Company had offered £700,000 at three per cent, which had been refused, *ibid.* 303; Smith, 591. Money was used on both sides in this quarrel and bribery was rampant, Macaulay, IV, 485; V, 23-34.

² Mill, II, 97. This final action was only reached after a protracted struggle, beginning in 1690, between the old Company and the opponents of its monopoly. The greatest antagonism had been excited by the tyrannical conduct of Sir Josiah Child, who for a long time was in absolute control. For the history of this contest, cf. Macaulay, IV, 232-240, 384, 385, 484, 486, 525-528; V, 302-308, 387; also Heeren, 163 (par. 13 note).

³ Raynal, II, 46-49.

⁴ Smith, 591.

⁵ Mill, II, 102-104; Malcolm, "Political History of India," I, 26.

⁶ Heeren, 201 (par. 9 and note); Raynal, II, 50-52; Auber, I, 12-13; Payne, 61. In 1708 the Crown exacted a further loan of £1,200,000 from the United Company.

⁷ Smith, 592.

disappointment; for, after the union of English resources had been perfected, it was simply a matter of time when this people would not only drive all competitors out of the trade with the Indian continent, but even secure for itself the absolute political mastery.¹ The power of Holland was thenceforth on the decline. For the next sixty years the contest was to be between France and England, and the final victory with the latter.

Almost from the very beginning of its career the United Company instituted that policy of militarism, conquest and subjugation of native races which was to build up the Indian empire of to-day.² While, however, it was thus intrenching itself in the Orient, its troubles at home were not yet ended. In 1730, upon the reissue of its charter, some merchants of London and other cities volunteered to buy out its privileges.³ Although this attempt was repulsed, it afforded the Crown the opportunity to enforce a credit of £200,000 additional; the renewed concessions lasted only fourteen years.⁴ In 1774 another obligatory advance of £1,000,000 was exacted at the low rate of three per cent; but this franchise ran for thirty-six years, or until 1780,⁵ when a further extension of another ten years was accorded. The conditions then were a new loan of £400,000 and a reduction of the dividends to eight per cent, seventy-five per cent of the surplus being also payable to the treasury. By these repeated and compulsory financial accommodations the success of the Company directly redounded to the state. In view of the vast

¹ Smith, 592.

² Lyall, 45.

³ For the desperate condition of the Company in 1730, cf. Smith, 591-592.

⁴ For many interesting details of the internal management of the Company, its history and situation prior to 1744, cf. Auber, I, 14-46, as that author says, "With the exception of their commercial concerns and the treaty concluded by their representatives at Bombay with the Mahrattas in July, 1739, . . . few matters of moment occurred until the year 1746, when the effects of the union between France and Spain which occasioned hostilities in Europe and involved Great Britain were soon felt in India."—"Rise and Progress of the British Power in India," I, 47.

⁵ Auber, I, 47; Smith, 592. "Meanwhile, however, in 1767 the Company agreed to pay the government annually £400,000 as rental for the East Indian customs. At the same time there are records which show that the corporation was secretly paying public functionaries and members of Parliament considerable sums in order to gain their support."—MILL, I, 115.

trade and enormous possessions of the society the burdens thus imposed upon it were perhaps justifiable; while it is certain that during the eighteenth century it had become a puissant auxiliary to the government.¹

Occasion has already arisen, in a previous chapter, to notice how England, gradually adding to her domains in the East, eventually absorbed the greater part of the territories belonging to France. Moreover, while Pondicherry and other French cities were smarting under capture and depression, Madras² and Calcutta were growing and prospering. The Peace of 1763 determined the supremacy in India. To Lord Clive³ more than to any other one man the result was due; for sixteen years (1751-1767) he fought there as commander-in-chief, vanquishing Dupleix and Lally, and finally achieving the extinction of all their hopes.⁴ Warren Hastings⁵ — although his actions were so unpopular as to lead to his recall — and Lord Cornwallis,⁶ his immediate successor, the first governors-general, ably continued the work of conquest and repression. When, therefore, the nineteenth century opened, the future was clearly defined.⁷

The interior administration of affairs in British India must yet be described. In early days the companies ruled very much as their Dutch and French adversaries, by an army of officials; at a subsequent period the government assumed more and more a military character; but not until

¹ For the more direct financial benefits arising to the Crown after 1767, cf. Smith, 593-594.

² For an English account of the capture and restoration of Madras, cf. Auber, I, 48-51; Smith, 593.

³ Cf. Malleon, "Lord Clive" (Macmillan, 1895); also Macaulay's Essay on Clive.

⁴ For a brief English version, and more especially of Clive, cf. Green, "History of the English People," IV, 161-163, 179 et seq.; more at length, Auber, I, 51-76, 119-179; *supra*, I, 407-410; Payne, 118.

⁵ Ross of Bladensburg, "Marquis of Hastings" (Macmillan, 1893); G. R. Gleig, "Life of Warren Hastings" (London, 1841); more briefly, Auber, I, 341-699, and Macaulay's Essay.

⁶ Seton-Karr, "Cornwallis" (Macmillan, 1893); more briefly, Auber, II, 46-132, 155, 395-399.

⁷ For the period between 1740-1786, the epoch of greatest growth for the East India Company, cf. Heeren, 287-295.

after the French overthrow was an European system introduced. The East India Company suddenly found itself, in 1763, transformed from a mercantile association into the owner and sovereign of an important state; still the English power at this time must not be overestimated. It was incomparable with that of to-day; the distinctive features to be observed were the absence of rivals, and the evident intention of the corporation to widen its realms as rapidly as circumstances would permit. When Clive had, in 1767, concluded his labors, only Bengal and a narrow strip of the east coast known as the Circars, as well as Madras and Bombay, were under British influence.¹ He it was who adopted the method of requiring the obedience of native princes and reigning in their name.²

Territorial extension did not at once bring increased wealth.³ Although the regions which the company controlled were fertile and productive, the benefits to it were inappreciable. Difficulties arose among the managers at home and their agents in India; the former, not satisfied with reasonable profits, wished to augment the dividends of the stockholders, while the latter demanded higher salaries and more privileges, both of which were prejudicial to the corporate interests. Among other evils the society was feeling the detrimental effects of the competition of its employees, who were privately trading for their own account.⁴ The East Indians naturally suffered the

¹ Cf. map, frontispiece to second volume of Auber, "Rise and Progress of the British Power in India"; also maps in Caldecott, "English Colonization and Empire," 62-64.

² This method of rule had been practised by Dupleix in French India, but Clive first employed it for England, and by reason of the modifications which he made is sometimes said to have inaugurated the system. Cf. *supra*, I, 408. It is from this period that the intervention of the English government in the affairs of the East India Company dates. For a brief sketch of this development, cf. R. and J. 287 et seq.

³ In 1773 the accounts of the Company showed that prior to that date £1,269,000 of the original capital had been lost, R. and J. 279; Mill, III, 455; IV, 442 et seq.; Smith, 594, 596.

⁴ Like its earlier Dutch rival, the British East India Company suffered from the cupidity of its employees. Private trading and high salaries were the two greatest obstacles to prosperity, Mill, III, 320, 322, 324, 355, 366, 390; Smith, 594, 596.

most; what the organization did not take, its officials seized; and when the one did not appropriate the surplus, the other was always ready to receive it. Extortion was everywhere rife.¹

Heeren sums up the troubles as:—

"1. The change in the land system, occasioning insecurity of tenure.

"2. The bad administration of justice and the application of British laws.

"3. The government's monopoly of salt, betel, and opium, the prime necessities in India.

"4. The yearly exportation of hard money.

"5. The losses in discount owing to the defective system of coinage."²

These causes, combined with the partial famine of 1770-1771, inexorably dispelled the dream of speedy prosperity, meanwhile involving the corporation in financial embarrassments of mammoth proportions. The drain of a perpetual state of hostilities was beyond even its resources.³

India was divided into four presidencies, each independent of the other, having a governor invested with full discretion and responsible only to the directory of the Company.⁴ With a view more strongly to centralize the government, Parliament in 1773 passed a measure entitled "an act for establishing certain regulations for the better management of the affairs of the East India Company." The principal clause concerned the public administration in India. After defining the qualifications and terms of directors, it was enacted that a governor-general be appointed with absolute civil and military jurisdiction; a supreme council of four members should assist him, differences of opinion being decided by the majority. Then followed provisions that these functionaries have the sole right of declaring war and negotiating with the native

¹ Heeren, 290-291 (par. 32).

² *Ibid.* 291 (par. 32 note).

³ For a description of the methods of trade prescribed by the English Company, the extent of its affairs, its plan of administration, and other details more at length prior to 1780, cf. Raynal, II, 68-270.

⁴ Heeren, 292.

princes. A high court with judges chosen by the Crown was also created. The king reserved unto himself the veto power over all resolutions to be voted by the organization.¹

The state thus assumed for itself the ultimate control; the Company became simply an intermediary enjoying its authority and privileges only so long as the Crown was complacent. For the East Indians the act was another signal of further oppression.² Warren Hastings, who had succeeded to the governorship of Bengal in 1772, was named as the first governor-general in 1774.³ During his eleven years of service he engaged in almost constant strife with the local potentates, among whom Hyder Ali was the most distinguished.⁴ Although Hastings was merely an agent in the prosecution of the tasks assigned him, he had been too ardent in their execution. At the report of the terrible cruelties and persecutions in this career of conquest, a thrill of horror ran through English hearts. Sheridan, Burke, Fox, Pitt and other magnanimous lovers of liberty joined in the demand for justice. Hastings, as the chief representative of the inhumane policy of despotical rule, was arraigned for some of these crimes; his trial, lasting from 1786 to 1795, ended in his acquittal.⁵ Nevertheless, this proceeding answered the useful purpose of bringing to public attention the intolerant and insufferable methods authorized and employed by the corporation for its own gain. In spite of its successes and exactions, it was on the other hand not fulfilling its promises to the nation. English politicians then began to discuss ways and means of rendering it more amenable. Fox made the first effort,⁶ but failed; Pitt was more fortunate. In 1784 he elab-

¹ For this act (13 George III, Ch. 16), cf. Lyall, "Rise of the British Dominion in India," 152; Malcolm, "Political History of India," I, 32; Auber, I, 337-346, 440 et seq.; Heeren, 292 (par. 32 note); Smith, 594-596.

² For the situation in India about this time, Smith, "Wealth of Nations," 71, 175 et seq., 595-596; Heeren, 292 (par. 35).

³ Cf. II, 68, note 5.

⁴ For these wars, briefly, Heeren, 293 (par. 35 note); for Hyder Ali, Auber, I, 217-628.

⁵ For brief account rather favorable to Hastings, Auber, I, 675-699.

⁶ For the proposed measure of 1783, the debates upon it, and the causes of its failure, *ibid.* I, 648-674; Mill, IV, 381 et seq.; Heeren, 294 (par. 36 note).

orated the scheme which still remains the basis of Indian administration. This law provided that the old directory should continue to exist, but that over it should be placed a Board of Control selected by the Crown. All the presidencies were subordinated to that of Calcutta, whose governor was designated governor-general of India; he was to be aided by three councillors; except in cases of emergency his power to wage war was limited to the defensive. Finally, complete accounts of property going to and coming from the Orient were to be submitted to the treasury.¹

By this measure all the Eastern possessions were thenceforth under the supreme direction of the state; the Company, by reason of its subjection in political affairs, once more became chiefly a mercantile society. For the inhabitants of India the reform was of considerable advantage, in that it gave them in cases of hardship and tyranny a last appeal to the home authorities; for the corporation it was a serious obstacle, since it was left, with the old burdens of war and expense, more circumscribed in its conduct, and open to wider criticism without any compensatory benefits or immunities; nor should the further enforced loans, which were from time to time exacted for a longer lease of life, be overlooked. The institution was still to exist a few years, not so much because of its own will or volition, but rather by virtue of its adoption into the legislative and executive mechanism of the country, which found in it an apt and ready tool for the performance of national projects. It had, at the close of the eighteenth century, while in and for itself a trading association, become for the English people a department of their imperial organization.²

Besides the colonies and acquisitions already described in America and India, England prior to 1787 had few distant territories. In Africa Englishmen had never yet gained a

¹ For this act (24 George III), Ilbert, "Government of India," 65; Auber, II, 1-25; Heeren, 294 (par. 36 note).

² For some account of East Indian affairs soon after the passage of Mr. Pitt's bill, cf. Heeren, 357-361.

footing, save at a few insignificant points on the west coast, from which they had drawn the cargoes for their slave ships.¹ In the South Atlantic, midway between South America and the Dark Continent, the East India Company had since 1661 owned the important island of St. Helena,² which was to be forever famous as the place of Napoleon's exile and death.³ In 1704 the Dutch and English fleets had captured Gibraltar, which the Treaty of 1713 allotted to England,⁴ by whom it has been permanently retained. Otherwise there was in 1787 scarcely any further region under British control.⁵ The total value of the remaining dependencies of England, after the loss of the thirteen American provinces, may be easily estimated, when it is recollected that their entire white population did not, according to competent writers, exceed six hundred thousand individuals. From that date the reconstruction of the empire began; the contingencies of international politics — especially the outbreak of the French Revolution and the career of Napoleon — favored the reestablishment of English rule on a grander and more extensive scale than ever previously attained. Its growth is for the present generation of men the culmination of colonial achievement.

It is now proper briefly to weigh the influence which the colonization of the earlier period exercised upon the parent state. Recall for a moment the conditions existing in England at the opening of the reign of Elizabeth, and then think of the situation at the end of the eighteenth century. Hardly any one will deny that the results consummated within the kingdom were not less than those accomplished without its borders.

¹ Payne, 129.

² "This island, so important as a resting place for ships returning from the Indies, was granted to the Company by a royal patent April 3, 1661." — HEEREN, 162-163 (par. 13 note). Englishmen took possession of it as early as 1651.

³ For early history of St. Helena, cf. Raynal, II, 207-210.

⁴ Lucas, I, 9; Heeren, 178, 182.

⁵ One of the most remarkable episodes in the early colonial history of England was the organization and brief career of the so-called Darien Company in the last years of the seventeenth century, the object of which was to carry on trade with East India by way of the Isthmus of Panama; cf. Macaulay, V, 418-446.

The increase of trade, the development of manufactures, the rise of a merchant marine, and the construction of a powerful fleet are only the more apparent consequences of the events of those two hundred years during which action and reaction had been steadily at work. The political, social, and economic aspect of England prior to the seventeenth century is acknowledged. The people had lived mostly in seclusion from their neighbors on the Continent. With the French, whom they had known best, their relations had chiefly been warlike; with the Dutch alone had any considerable business been transacted. Within, the nation had been torn by civil strife and religious dissension; furthermore, agriculture was in a deplorable state, and the number of inhabitants was excessive for the soil; while industry had not yet been fostered.¹

The popular discontent was evidenced by the avidity with which the opportunity to emigrate was seized as soon as colonies were founded. Massachusetts, Maryland, and Barbados rivalled each other in the rapid progress of their settlements. Considering the immense distance as well as the length and danger of the voyage, as then performed, the influx to the western hemisphere was phenomenal. The character of the colonists, drawn from the unemployed, persecuted, and dissatisfied classes, rendered doubly desirable their separation from the metropolis; not merely did England thus rid herself of surplus population, but at the same time she was freed from many turbulent, discordant elements of society. The salutary effects which the settlers in the New World achieved for themselves would have been possible, if at all, in England only after a prolongation of domestic upheavals.

The emigrants, so widely scattered in remote lands, soon furnished the mother country bountifully with many new and uncommon products; especially in respect to raw materials the accruing advantages were enormous. In the one item of lumber England had been dependent on Scandinavia; after the establishment of the North American colonies articles requisite in shipbuilding were plentiful. Nor was the parent state slow

¹ *Supra*, II, 10-12.

to avail itself of these conditions; for its fleet, both merchant and naval, soon became formidable. The supplies being practically inexhaustible, industry flourished, and with its growth came an advance in wages paid to all kinds of workmen; for the interdependence of labor and capital was as true then as now. The impulse due to colonial needs was marked. Renewed activity was necessary to provide sufficient manufactured goods, not only for consumption at home, but also in the dependencies.¹

The worst feature of the prevailing system, however, was monopoly. In spite of all the logical results which England felt and might still more have experienced, her statesmen persisted in imposing artificial limitations. The Navigation Act and its successive amendments in a great degree constituted the negation of the natural benefits which might otherwise have been enjoyed in their entirety. By the prohibition of certain trades and by the assessment of discriminating duties on many commodities required by and of them, their production was obstructed and values augmented; an immediate decrease in sales ensued, with its attendant drawbacks to prosperity. The later adopted idea of forbidding the exportation of certain American products to the north of Cape Finisterre was also a fearful error of policy. The demand of the countries of that section of Europe for crude materials was thus nullified, to the serious prejudice of the colonial regions. The regulation that all wares should pass in transit through England was to deny to the colonists the privilege of purchasing elsewhere. The theory was by these measures to reduce the price of merchandise in England, to stimulate her carrying interests, and to quicken her manufactures. In respect to the first object the design frequently failed; for restriction inevitably meant high cost. Industry was less thrifty than it would have been with a larger market; and shipping, primarily depending on the quantity of cargoes to be transported, was likewise retarded in its development. To these causes may be traced the slow and difficult evolution of British power; aside from the eventual

¹ Smith, 465-508.

loss of the principal dependencies, the trend of such legislation was harmful; but, in defiance of the obstacles so rigorously created by law, England drew substantial recompense from her realms.¹

The regularity of mercantile transactions, however relatively hindered, seems alone to have saved this people from the worst consequences of its exclusive doctrines. The merchant marine grew, notwithstanding all difficulties, while its protection and that of the colonies themselves involved the steady increase of naval forces. How far and in what manner the Navigation Act affected English interests is doubtful. It is probably truer that commerce augmented in spite of it rather than by reason of it.² For trade and colonization, England bears a striking resemblance to Greece. The same inherent circumstances influenced the citizens of both lands. A long stretch of coast with numerous beautiful harbors, fine rivers, and an excess of population could not fail to produce similar results. The inhabitants of England were born sailors; in early days their ancestors had come hither by water, and they themselves were not loath, when the time arrived, to go hence over unbeaten tracks of the boundless deep to transplant new offshoots of the Anglo-Saxon race; and when they had settled in every quarter of the world they perceived that the control of the ocean was a necessity. As the destruction of the Armada had opened to them the possibility, so, very soon after that event, the reaction, arising from greater familiarity with the value of commercial routes and relations, taught them the importance of sea power. To improve, enlarge, and defend their distant territories became the paramount characteristic of their conduct.

The effects of colonization and naval strength on each other were reciprocal; side by side, hand in hand, they waxed stronger and stronger. The creation of the first settlements was due to the existence of a fleet, and their very growth stimulated its

¹ For a brief discussion of the advantages and disadvantages accruing to England, especially with reference to the monopoly of commerce and trade, cf. Leroy-Beaulieu, 127-138; Smith, 465-487; Seeley, *Course I*, Lect. IV.

² Smith, 481.

further development.¹ British squadrons for many years protected the West Indian islands and the North American provinces, while they were widening the area of national authority by the conquest of Canada and acquisitions in India. With the loss of the thirteen colonies the navy for once became somewhat disproportionate to the extent of the remaining possessions. It was therefore natural that England should be alert for an opportunity effectually to employ it. The occasion came in the wars with Holland and France at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century; it was then, by the brilliant sea victories achieved, that the foundations were laid anew for the mightiest empire in the annals of mankind.

Whatever criticism may be justly made on the old-fashioned methods advocated by the English in the earlier period, it cannot be denied that they were superior to those elsewhere in vogue. This people first showed a genuine aptitude and true spirit for the task; they seldom, if ever, sought to realize the vague and vain fantasies of gold; they were content to extract their wealth from the soil after long and laborious efforts. The profits they won were not for the moment; the results were enduring. The day came when they thought that their endeavors were to be unrewarded; they saw their leading establishments revolt and carry with them five-sixths of the colonial realm; but the nation showed not less persistency than capacity for recuperation. Almost within thirty years

¹ This fact was not any exception to the general rule. "Great maritime powers in all ages have had colonial possessions, larger or smaller. This is, in the first instance, one legitimate result of commerce; but after being established, colonies, as we have shown, foster that commerce more than other countries. 'Ships, Colonies, and Commerce,' express high interests of a maritime state. If commerce called into existence shipping, colonies may now be said to be the chief foster-mother of both, and we might almost reduce the motto to the one word 'Colonies.' The chief influence, the honor, and wealth from these fall to the parent state, although most English statesmen are slow to acknowledge it. These, too, lessen instead of increase the naval expenditure, the chief of which, on colonial account, is for the naval and military stations at Malta, Gibraltar, Bermuda, and in the East and West Indies; but none or little where the great dependencies of the crown are. Give these up and naval stations must take their place." — HURLBURT, 218.

after the occurrence of this unprecedented disaster a new dominion had been acquired, an exploit without parallel; and, fortunately for the world, the separation of the American Republic had signalized the collapse of the decayed fabric of that false economic system erected on the Navigation Act.¹ Henceforth not any artificial device of man was to lessen the beneficent gifts of nature. Guided by the experience of others, warned by her own errors, and appreciative of the sound principles at the basis of all really effective power, England has since then been constantly evolving and ameliorating her colonial policy. The fundamental rule by which the propositions of theory have been tested has been that the highest degree of prosperity in the colonies will inure to the greatest advantage of the parent state.

¹ Caldecott, 57; Payne, 123.

CHAPTER XIX

LATER DEVELOPMENT AND CLASSIFICATION OF ENGLISH DEPENDENCIES

THE history of English colonization during the nineteenth century is inexhaustible in variety; in Australia, South Africa, and Asia, it is the record of the progress of civilization; on these three continents, as well as in Canada, the West Indies, and other scattered islands of the sea, it is the narrative of the steady development of Anglo-Saxon influence. Compared with the labors of other nations and earlier times in the same department of activity, the ends attained in these hundred years bear the relation of the capstone to the edifice. The English system of the present day would seem to be the final stage, just prior to the transition from this method of government for distant possessions into a subtler form of control. England has already, indeed, in the case of many of her more important dependencies, divested the metropolis of those special rights and privileges which for long ages were held to constitute the inherent characteristics of the colonial connection; the phraseology alone exists, while for practical purposes the complicated framework — so highly valued during the preceding century — has fallen.¹ It will, however, be not the less apparent to the most casual observer that, in spite of these lighter ties of cohesion, the sympathies, moral, social, religious, financial, and political, — those most potent sources of strength and union between state and people, — are more cordial, ardent, and sincere than in any previous empire.² Nor is this feel-

¹ Rosscher and Jannasch, 300-304.

² "The really valuable tie with a colony is the moral and social tie." — W. E. GLADSTONE, quoted by Hurlburt, 180. "My hold of the colonies is the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from

ing of good fellowship limited to the immediate family still under the common name; for the same sentiment has produced such a revolution in the hearts of men that the fraternalism of race has overcome the rancors of bitter quarrels, until to-day even those former colonies on American soil, — our own country, — ruthlessly estranged in the past by the inconsiderate policy of that epoch, are, in their maturity, welcomed to participate in the full heritage of Anglo-Saxon traditions.

The extent of British dominion may perhaps be better imagined than measured, when the fact is appreciated that, of the entire land surface of the globe, approximately one-fifth is actually or theoretically under that flag, while more than one-sixth of all the human beings living on this planet reside under one or the other type of English colonization.¹ The names by which authority is exerted are numerous, and processes are distinct, but the goals to which this manifold mechanism is working are very similar. In every instance, the object is the supremacy of the English nation, its institutions, language, and industries. According to the climate, the natural conditions, and the inhabitants of the region affected, procedure and practice vary. The means are adapted to the situation; there is not any irrevocable, immutable line of policy; from time to time, from decade to decade, English statesmen have applied different treatment to the same territory.² Only one fixed rule of action seems to exist; it is

similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron." — EDMUND BURKE, *On the Conciliation of the American Colonies*.

¹ According to the "Statesman's Year Book" for 1900 the area of the British empire is 11,605,238 square miles, and its total population numbers 345,222,339. *Post*, p. 87.

² As illustrative of this policy the testimony quoted by Hurlburt which was given before the select committee of the House of Commons on colonial military expenditure (1861) is interesting. Mr. Merivale said, "The colonies are of such entirely different classes that I feel it impossible to apply any uniform rule to the question of what proportion of their defence the mother country ought to contribute." The Duke of Newcastle testified: "I differ from the position assumed throughout that letter [General Peel's], namely, that one rigid rule can be applied to the whole of the colonies of the empire. I think that to be an entire folly — a theory which will not bear examination, nor can it be carried into practice." Earl Grey, too, is equally explicit in condemning a pol-

to promote the interests of the colony to the utmost, to develop its scheme of government as rapidly as possible, and eventually to elevate it from the position of inferiority to that of association. Under the charm of this beneficent spirit the chief colonial establishments of Great Britain have already achieved substantial freedom, without dissolving nominal ties; the other subordinate possessions are aspiring to it, while, on the other hand, this privilege of local independence has enabled England to assimilate with ease many feudatory states into the body politic of her system.

To the exercise of prudence and judgment in the elaboration of methods for colonial administration, England owes the wonderful structure of the present; more than any other cause of success may be reckoned the abstention from details. Only the main outlines have been sketched, it being within the functions of each dependency to invent all special provisions. Reversing the theories prevalent in the era of the Navigation Act, the English have divested themselves of the care for minutiae, and in so doing have discharged the mother country of the responsibility; free of the possibility of complaint by the colonies that obnoxious and unpopular laws are due to the determination of Parliament, harmonious relations between the parent state and her dominions are less liable to disturbance. The cause for friction does not exist. If the colonists feel oppressed, redress is within their power; for the revision of distasteful enactments they look to their own legislatures; the remedy for grievances is in their midst; if passion or hatred burst forth, they find as an object some official or politician, whose removal or discredit is in the hands of his constituents. What a vast relief to the strain on

ley founded on one rigid rule in its application to fifty colonies differing also as slightly as any fifty individual communities possibly can. Garrisons, as Gibraltar, Malta, and Halifax, are held for our general naval purposes. A different rule must be applied to these. The Australian colonies are a peculiar case. There are no native tribes and little danger from foreign enemies. The government and Parliament are responsible for the peculiar settlements at the Cape and in New Zealand, and took at the same time all the responsibility of defending them (Evidence 2530-2532, 2557-2560), cited by Hurlburt, "Britain and Her Colonies," 158-160, 167, 194.

the colonial office where the people can mete out justice to the offending statesman when and as they will, without seeking to reach him through the tortuous channels of the British cabinet. How greatly did not the haughty bearing of Grenville of stamp-tax fame add to the animosity of the American Revolutionists!

With this very simplicity of organization on the part of the metropolis has come complexity on the side of the colonies. If, indeed, England does not any longer make statutes for them with the same universality of application as in former centuries, it is not the less true that each is caring for itself and its own needs. The measures thus voted are as diversified in their scope as the characteristics of the regions and races in which, and over which, they have force; although be it ever remembered that the old common law¹ is the accepted standard of imperial legislation, constituting for this reason one of the fundamental bonds in the strength of the edifice. The Magna Charta of rights, as varied to suit the requirements of 344,000,000 individuals, is, in its forms, so manifold as to be marvellous. The study of its modifications and adaptation to local contingencies would alone furnish a vast theme.²

¹ "Every country conquered or ceded to the Crown of England retains such laws and such rules of law (not inconsistent with the general law of England affecting dependencies) as were in force in it at the time of the conquest or cession, until they are repealed by competent authority. Now, inasmuch as many independent states and many dependent colonies of other states have become English dependencies, many of the English dependencies have retained wholly or in part foreign systems of jurisprudence. Thus Trinidad retains much of the Spanish law; Demerara, Cape of Good Hope, and Ceylon retain much of Dutch law; Lower Canada retains the French civil law according to the 'coutume de Paris'; St. Lucia retains the old French law as it existed when the Island belonged to France, etc." — LEWIS, "Government of Dependencies," 198. Blackstone remarks that the common law of England does not obtain, as such, in an English dependency acquired by conquest or treaty, "Commentaries," I, 108. Cf. also Tarring, "Law relating to the Colonies," 18; Ilbert, "Government of India," Ch. VI.

² "The British empire exhibits forms and methods of government in almost exuberant variety. The several colonies at different periods of their history have passed through various stages of government, and in 1891 there are some thirty or forty different forms operative simultaneously within our empire alone. At this moment there are regions where government of a purely despotic kind is in full exercise and the empire includes also colonies where the subordination of the colonial government has become so slight as

The multiplicity of laws in itself renders the discussion of British colonial methods most intricate. In a few pages it is scarcely possible to do more than barely touch upon the general features adopted for and by most of the dependencies, leaving the more serious reader to pursue elsewhere his investigations.

Approximately, 1787 is the time at which the present-day history of English colonization began. Not any positive¹ date can be absolutely named for the dawn of this era, but probably the year in which the first settlements were made by England in Australia and Africa offers as legitimate a point of departure as any which could be chosen. Between the recognition of the United States as a nation in 1783, and the outbreak of the French Revolution, the British possessions were not only limited to the fragments of the older system, but were, moreover, apparently not susceptible of any further serious extension. The likelihood of conquest seemed closed, while the feasibility of original occupation in remote districts of the world was disputable.² After the loss of the thirteen colonies Englishmen were still engaged in polemic discussion as to the cause of their separation, and the effects of their independence upon trade and policy. With the outer world tranquillity reigned, while the possibility of recoupment by taking advantage of the emergencies of international politics never disappeared from view. Meanwhile, in 1787, England sent a small body of convicts to found a penal station on the coast of New South Wales, and a similar heterogeneous crowd of blacks and whites to locate on the shores of Sierra Leone. These frail and contemptible outposts were the first on two continents,

to be almost impalpable. We find one reflection rising in our minds, however, when we survey the history of this complicated variety, namely, that we are looking at the natural growth of an organism which in its development has taken differing forms in adaptation to differing needs. No cast-iron mechanism is before us, but a living society exhibiting vital principles both in what it continues to retain and what it drops or adds by way of alteration. The Briton is supposed to be of rigid character; but in government he has proved himself to be the most elastic of all Europeans."—CALDECOTT, "English Colonization and Empire," 121.

¹ Seeley, "Expansion of England," 72.

² Payne, 126.

where, in the nineteenth century, the most comprehensive success was to be achieved. In 1793, when the allies attacked frenzied France, the prizes of war were already expectantly distributed. The French colonies formed England's share, and how well within twenty years this programme was executed! Thenceforth the colonial empire of Britain was on the ascendant scale.

When the Treaty of 1815 was signed, England was securely mistress of a domain which by recent events had been materially enlarged.¹ As the result of the long period of European warfare Great Britain was, at the final peace, confirmed in the ownership of Malta and Heligoland in Europe; of Tobago, St. Lucia, Trinidad, and Surinam in the West Indies; of the Cape of Good Hope in Africa; of Mauritius and Ceylon in the Indian Ocean, and of Cochin in India. At that date the population under British rule in different divisions of the earth was estimated to be:—

European Dependencies	340,000
Asiatic "	124,200,000
African "	243,500
American "	1,599,850
Australasia and Oceanica	25,050
Total	126,408,400

In fact, the skeleton structure of the modern colonial realm was then existent; it remained for the next century to fill up, strengthen, solidify, and unify the various elements of which it was composed. The recuperative power of the English nation after the catastrophe of 1776-1783 was phenomenal. Without the opportunities afforded by the generally disturbed condition of Europe, the acquisition of such an extent of territory, so widely scattered and so thickly peopled, would have proved an impossibility. Chance presented the occasion, and English statesmen seized it; ever since then their efforts have been directed to retain and augment these possessions.

¹ Cotton and Payne, 96, 100-101; Spencer Walpole, "History of England," I, 110.

For the sake of comparison it will be well to mention the statistics of the growth of the British empire for the same dates as those given in a previous chapter for France.¹ In 1860 the area and the population approximately were:—

	AREA SQUARE MILES	POPULATION
European Dependencies	1,162.92	386,557
Asiatic "	875,797.14	137,279,105
African "	129,976	835,650
American "	954,170	4,226,744
Australasia and Oceanica	580,134	2,401,024
Total	2,541,240.06	145,129,080

Between 1860 and 1880 the figures in both respects were enormously increased. Prior to 1880, in Australia as well as in North America, only the organized districts inhabited and included under a recognized form of government were comprised in British returns; but in 1880 the theory of spheres of influence was advanced, according to which entire Australia and all North America, except the United States (together with Alaska) and Mexico, belong to Great Britain. The figures for America likewise embrace thenceforward the properties of the Hudson Bay Company. By this method of calculation the English dependencies in 1880, or thereabouts, contained:—

	AREA SQUARE MILES	POPULATION
European Dependencies	126.75	175,186
Asiatic "	963,384.25	256,148,625
African "	278,446	2,717,816
American "	3,359,243	6,016,077
Australasia and Oceanica	3,083,770	2,877,440
Total	7,684,970	267,935,144

¹ *Supra*, I, Ch. XIII.

The decrease observable in Europe was due to the withdrawal of the protectorate from the Ionian Islands and the latter's annexation to Greece.

The period of comparative indifference closed in 1880; prior to that time it had been for many years an open question whether or not England should endeavor still further to extend her realms. Then Germany, Italy, and Belgium began to take up tracts of land in unexplored regions, while France was entering upon an era of redoubled activity. Under the spur of this rivalry, Great Britain again adopted a policy of avowed expansion. Egypt was almost the first achievement of this impulse; the occupation of other parts of Africa soon followed, and subsequently acquisitions along the Indian frontiers, in China, and in Oceanica. On the other hand, the English domain in Europe was again slightly reduced by the cession of Heligoland to Germany in 1890. The approximate statistics in that year were:—

	AREA SQUARE MILES	POPULATION
European Dependencies	119	191,417
Asiatic "	1,827,228	288,436,340
African ¹ "	341,858	4,963,062
American "	3,768,818	6,708,042
Australasia and Oceanica	3,175,153	4,416,843
Total	9,113,176	304,715,704

From that date until the recent subjugation of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic there was not any regular conquest or annexation made. Efforts have been more especially directed toward pushing forward the frontier posts in Africa and Asia. England, like other European nations, has, in late years, been most persistent in her attempt to secure in China the delimitation of a sphere of influence. In

¹ The figures for Africa do not include Egypt, with an area of 400,000 square miles and a population approximating 7,720,000 inhabitants.

the case of such an universal and so broadly dispersed empire, estimates of its extent and strength must necessarily vary. The most accurate figures are mere calculations, so far as regards the millions of aborigines over which English rule is maintained. Statements recently published show some fifty British principal dependencies with the following area and population on each continent:—

	AREA SQUARE MILES	POPULATION
European Dependencies	119	204,421
Asiatic Dependencies :		
India, 1,800,258 square miles ; 287,223,431 inhabitants. Others, 27,321 square miles ; 4,363,257 inhabitants	1,827,579	291,586,688
African Colonies ¹	367,928	4,931,780
American Colonies	3,952,572	7,260,169
Australasian Colonies	3,175,840	5,009,281
Total	9,324,038	308,992,339
Protectorates and Spheres of Action :		
Asia	120,400	1,200,000
Africa	2,160,000	35,000,000
Oceanica	800	30,000
Total Protectorates	2,281,200	36,230,000
Grand Total	11,605,238	345,222,339

In this same connection let it not be forgotten that the United Kingdom has an area of only 120,979 square miles and a population of 40,559,954 people. The contrast is almost inconceivable. One fact is worthy of mention: of all the temperate zones eighty-five per cent belong to Great Britain and the United States; forty-five per cent of the whole is controlled by the first-named nation. Not only does England occupy such vast realms, but of the earth's surface she has preëmpted a goodly share of the best part.

¹ Exclusive of the late South African Republic and the Orange River Colony.

The next statement shows in tabulated form the situation of the English colonial domain, excluding protectorates and spheres of action, at different epochs of the nineteenth century :—

	AREA IN SQUARE MILES			
	1860	1880	1890-1891	1899
Europe	1,162,92	126,75	119	119
Asia	876,197.14	963,384.25	1,827,228	1,827,579
Africa	129,976	278,446	341,858	367,028
America	864,170	3,359,243	3,768,818	3,952,572
Australasia	580,134	3,083,770	3,175,153	3,175,840
Total	2,541,240.06	7,684,970	9,113,176	9,324,038

	1860	POPULATION			
		1880	1890	1890-1891	1899
Europe	2,000	386,557	175,186	191,417	204,421
Asia	124,000	137,279,105	256,148,625	288,436,340	291,586,688
Africa	13,500	833,650	2,717,816	4,963,062	4,931,780
America	1,009,830	4,228,744	6,016,077	6,708,042	7,260,169
Australasia	25,000	2,401,024	2,877,440	4,416,843	5,009,281
Total	126,408,400	143,129,080	267,935,144	304,715,704	308,992,339

The following table gives a complete list of the principal English colonies and dependencies, indicating date of acquisition, together with the present area and population :—

	DATE OF ACQUISITION	AREA	POPULATION
India :			
British India	1601-1856	1,068,314	221,172,952
Feudatory States	—	731,944	66,050,479
Total India		1,800,258	287,223,431

	DATE OF ACQUISITION	AREA	POPULATION
<i>Colonies :</i>			
<i>Europe :</i>			
Gibraltar	1704	2	24,093
Malta and Gozo	1800	117	180,328
<i>Asia :</i>			
Aden and Perim	1839	80	41,910
Ceylon	1795	25,333	3,448,752
Hongkong	1842	406	354,400
Labuan	1846	30	5,853
Straits Settlements	1819	1,471	512,342
<i>Africa :</i>			
Ascension	1815	35	430
Basutoland	1868-1883	10,293	250,000
Cape Colony	1806	276,75	1,787,960
Mauritius	1810	05	337,856
Natal and Zululand	1824	36,19	902,365
St. Helena	1651	47	4,645
<i>West African Colonies :</i>			
Gambia	1631	30	14,300
Gold Coast	1661	40,30	1,473,882
Lagos	1787	85	85,607
Sierra Leone	1789	300	74,835
<i>America :</i>			
Bermudas	1609	20	16,291
Canada	1763	3,653,346	5,185,990
Falkland Islands and So. Georgia	1833	7,00	2,050
British Guiana	1803	109,500	286,222
British Honduras	1670	7,32	34,747
Newfoundland and Labrador . .	1497	162,200	202,040
<i>West Indies :</i>			
Bahamas	1629	4,466	53,256
Jamaica and Turks Islands . .	1655	4,359	733,118
Barbados	1605	166	190,000
Leeward Islands	17th Cent.	701	127,800
Windward Islands	17th Cent.	784	155,000
Trinidad and Tobago	1763-1797	1,868	273,655
<i>Australasia :</i>			
Fiji	1874	7,740	121,738
New Guinea	1884	90,540	350,000
New South Wales	1788	310,700	1,357,050
New Zealand	1840	104,470	796,387
Queensland	1859	668,500	498,523
South Australia	1836	903,690	362,897
Tasmania	1803	29,390	171,340
Victoria	1850	87,890	1,176,854
Western Australia	1829	975,920	168,490
Total Colonies		7,523,780	21,768,908
Grand Total Colonies and India .		9,324,038	308,992,339

The annexed statements give the financial statistics of the various English possessions, by geographical divisions of the world, showing annual revenue, expenditure, and debt for most recent years available (generally for 1898-1899). More detailed figures in each instance will be found in the respective chapters relating to each individual colony.

	REVENUE	EXPENDITURES	DEBT
India	£96,442,004	£101,801,215	£242,989,003
European Colonies . . .	388,507	387,960	79,168
Asiatic Colonies (excluding India)	2,632,609	2,447,995	4,028,667
South African Colonies ¹ .	9,223,387	10,277,422	36,858,065
West African Colonies . .	629,665	731,926	
Mauritius	762,032	813,147	1,195,691
Atlantic Island Colonies ² .	61,114	64,225	45,600
Canada	8,382,750	8,028,768	69,529,312
Newfoundland and Labrador	316,730	401,459	3,387,509
West Indies	2,470,645	2,491,775	5,214,662
Australasia	31,678,319	31,089,682	228,185,610
Total for Colonies . .	£56,545,758	£56,734,359	£348,524,284
Grand Total for India and Colonies	£152,987,762	£158,535,574	£591,513,287

The annual trade statistics of the different dependencies are indicated by the next tables.³ The imports and exports to and from the United Kingdom respectively are shown in separate columns; it will be observed that of the former 42 per cent come from the metropolis and of the latter very nearly the same proportion is shipped thither.

¹ South Africa comprises Cape Colony, Natal, Zululand, and Basutoland in each instance.

In all these tables there should probably now be included under South Africa also the late South African Republic and the Orange River Colony. For details cf. *post*, Ch. XXII.

² Including Ascension, St. Helena, the Bermudas, and the Falkland Islands.

³ The tables in the text are based upon figures given in the "Statesman's Year Book," the "Annual Cyclopædia," and the "Annual Register" for the respective years mentioned.

	IMPORTS FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM	IMPORTS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES	TOTAL IMPORTS
India	£40,506,840	£19,471,510	£59,978,350
Asiatic Colonies . . .	7,144,988	29,750,446	36,895,434
South African Colonies ¹	15,256,041	6,896,249	22,152,290
West African Colonies .	2,187,498	674,840	2,862,338
Mauritius	332,070	1,423,250	1,755,320
Atlantic Island Colonies ¹	186,441	301,004	487,445
Canada	6,678,271	22,160,233	28,838,504
Newfoundland and Labrador	312,175	751,030	1,063,205
West Indies	3,363,225	4,588,577	7,951,802
Australasia	26,151,685	42,785,364	68,937,049
Total for Colonies . .	£61,815,911	£119,147,707	£180,963,618
Grand Total Colonies and India	£102,322,751	£138,619,217	£240,941,968

	EXPORTS TO THE UNITED KINGDOM	EXPORTS TO OTHER COUNTRIES	TOTAL EXPORTS
India	£21,668,500	£58,393,100	£80,061,600
Asiatic Colonies . . .	6,865,524	23,924,223	30,789,747
South African Colonies ¹	25,707,142	1,013,413	26,720,555
West African Colonies .	1,280,500	1,133,650	2,414,150
Mauritius	67,230	1,710,230	1,777,460
Atlantic Island Colonies ¹	108,322	273,880	382,202
Canada	21,575,108	12,154,895	33,730,003
Newfoundland and Labrador	278,614	795,413	1,074,027
West Indies	2,453,551	5,343,439	7,796,990
Australasia	32,151,822	47,042,720	79,194,542
Total for Colonies . .	£92,396,402	£100,605,490	£193,001,892
Grand Total Colonies and India	£114,064,902	£158,998,590	£273,063,492

¹ Cf. notes 1 and 2 on preceding page.

Of the realms under British supremacy various classifications may be made. India, Egypt, and Cyprus should first, by reason of their peculiar relation to the empire, be singled out. India is not a colony, nor yet a separate state, in spite of the title "Empress of India," but it is certainly a dependency, in which the form of administration is a most wonderful anomaly.¹ The greater part of the country is known as British India, where Englishmen rule; almost every one of them in this vast land has been sent thither, delegated to discharge some particular function of government. English traders and manufacturers do exist, but they are comparatively rare. Besides British India, there is a region only slightly smaller, which technically is simply tributary to the Crown; the native states of this latter category are theoretically merely feudatory. Their princes exercise absolute authority over their own subjects; but a specially appointed agent resides at each of their courts. The British control partakes of the nature of a protectorate, which, although mild, is in cases of emergency effective and final. Thus the exact status of India as an entirety is not easily defined.² Egypt and Cyprus, the other non-colonial domains of England, in name portions of the Ottoman empire, are strictly protectorates; of them subsequent notice will be taken.

All the remaining possessions of Great Britain are colonies, and fall into two natural groups: those in which white men predominate, situated in temperate climes; and those of the tropics, where they are scarce. This distribution almost exactly corresponds with the respective differences in political organization—characterized by the expressions "Responsible Government"³ and "Crown Colony."⁴ Administratively the two leading classes are: those which enjoy practical independence, with cabinets accountable to their own popularly elected legislatures; and those which are immediately under the

¹ Seeley, "Expansion of England," 217; Lyall, "Rise of British Dominion in India," 3.

² For the political relations existing between England and India, cf. Cotton and Payne, 23-47.

³ Caldecott, 134.

⁴ *Ibid.* 139; Merivale, 639 et seq.

Crown, or, in other words, directly ruled from England; the first comprises Canada, the Australias, and the Cape; the second nearly all the other colonial establishments.¹ Some few dependencies, not included in the two more important divisions, occupy a kind of intermediary position and are designated as having "Representative Government."² Another arrangement might be made according to location: the Canadian, the Australian, the South African, and the Eastern territories.

¹ Cotton and Payne, 137-139.

² Caldecott, 137.

CHAPTER XX

ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN CANADA

THE collapse of European power in America is one of the most momentous events in history; nor were the indirect results so very much less than the immediate consequences achieved by revolt. While the destruction of antiquated forms was not merely confined to this continent, but even embraced France in the throes of agony, the greater reformation of thought and policy penetrated every state and people of the civilized world. It was a protracted conflict, which commenced openly to manifest itself at Bunker Hill in 1775, and continued in full vigor in America until 1832-1833, and in Europe even longer. In the western hemisphere the various convulsions were swift and decisive. When the period of transition closed, only one important possession on the mainland was saved to all Europe; Canada alone remained as the sole survivor of the former colonial fabrics. By concessions this domain had been preserved to England, but the grant of these privileges marked the termination of the old, and the acknowledgment of a new era.¹ In the Revolution of the thirteen colonies, England was the first nation to feel the effects of the rising spirit. The overthrow of British authority by our forefathers was for Englishmen the dawn of a reawakening; for them the epoch of irrevocable doctrines was at an end. With their usual self-reliance and acumen, they began thenceforth to discuss the causes for their misfortune, and to prepare for the avoidance of similar disasters in the future. It may, therefore, be well said that the recognition of American independence was the death-blow to the then existing system.²

¹ Merivale, 641 et seq.

² Cunningham, 442. "The commercial policy which had been pursued with regard to the colonies inevitably collapsed with the old colonial empire."—COTTON AND PAYNE, "Colonies and Dependencies," 96.

A season of instability, revision, and reform, followed. Until the Peace of 1815 the struggle was for reconstruction; when England was once more secure in the occupation of extensive colonial regions, the task was the adoption of methods which, suited to the necessities of modern sentiment and activity, would render this great empire contented, peaceful, and durable.¹ This labor lasted another quarter of a century, and the American continent was again the scene of action. As the United States by force of arms had previously wrested their independence from England, so Canada in the early years of the nineteenth century was by more tranquil means winning absolute freedom in administration. The admission of her demands was nevertheless obtained only by the threat of separation,² while England by prompt measures and wise acquiescence averted the impending calamity. The agitation which in 1846 occasioned the inauguration of a responsible government for Canada was more wide-reaching in its results than it had been in its hopes; for, when once the principle of local self-control was admitted in the case of one colony, it was not long before it was necessarily applied to all those dependencies enjoying similar conditions of civilization and intelligence. It was comparatively soon after the introduction of home rule in Canada, when the same favors were extended to Australia and the Cape of Good Hope.³ Thus, for the first time, a pacific reorganization of a colonial empire had been consummated, the colonies had acquired practical liberty, and with the acceptance of its inevitable consequences the parent state reserved nominal control.

The history of the evolution of the present form of Canadian administration is the record of the progress achieved. When the narrative of Canada in the eighteenth century was sus-

¹ "It must not be thought that England achieved at one stroke such perfect political and economic measures, so well suited to the development of new establishments." — (tr.) LEROY-BEAULIEU, 585-586; this author further emphasizes the fact that English reforms were gradual and the result of long experiment, *ibid.*

² McMullen, "History of Canada," II, Ch. III, IV, V; Cotton and Payne, 104.

³ Cf. *post*, 139 et seq., 175 et seq.

pended, the Quebec Act was in force.¹ Her people, although British in name, were still French in character; and the American Revolution had just come to a successful conclusion. Events of the next few years were to work a mighty influence. In 1774, on the eve of the uprising of their southern neighbors, the residents of these provinces had been tempted by the provisions of the Quebec Act to remain loyal. Permission to practise the tenets of Catholicism and to live under the French system of justice had been granted them in the expectation that these concessions would insure their fealty; for once, as a matter of policy, English statesmen most remarkably supplanted their principles of religion and law with the hated church and a foreign jurisprudence; but the end was attained. Throughout the struggle of 1775-1783 the Canadians never faltered. Secure, as they believed themselves, in the exercise of their own rites of worship, and in the guarantee of their customs, they were indifferent to the appeals of their compatriots beyond the St. Lawrence.² Soon after the close of hostilities, however, the situation commenced to change. Until that date, it may be truthfully asserted, Canada was thoroughly French; the transformation then began.

Conscientious spirits and obedient subjects must always be recognized, whatever be the opinion of their error of judgment. At this distance of time, therefore, the royalists of the thirteen colonies may be regarded as sincere in their convictions. Without impugning the motives which actuated these men, the fact must be inscribed that there were many who, after the expulsion of British authority from the lately established Republic, preferred to remove to those districts where English sovereignty was still unimpaired.³

¹ For this act, *supra*, II, 51 et seq.; Munro, "Constitutions of Canada," 16.

² "In the case of the colonists on the St. Lawrence the reason lay in the fact that most of them were Frenchmen, who had quietly submitted to be transferred from the French to the English Crown, and had no interests nor feelings in common with their revolted neighbors." — COTTON AND PAYNE, 95; Payne, 147-148; Leroy-Beaulieu, 587. For description of French characteristics of the Canadians at this time, cf. McCarthy, "Our Own Times," I, 45-48.

³ Goldwin Smith, "Canada and the Canadian Question," 84; Greswell, "British Colonization," 75; Dilke, "Problems of Greater Britain," 19.

When the results of their decision are recalled, the existence of some strong scruple of conscience must be acknowledged, which determined them to seek voluntary exile in the harsh, uncultivated, and sparsely inhabited wilds of the North rather than to accept citizenship under the new flag in their old homes of the more smiling regions of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. The number of these individuals was considerable, and, as the most of them belonged to the richer classes, Canada, by their influx, gained, not only in population, but likewise in wealth.¹ Many British soldiers who had taken part in the recent campaigns also settled in that colony.

The American Revolution was in another sense a source of profit. For many years afterward, as the inevitable consequence of civil conflict, the United States did not afford a favorable field for English capital or enterprise. The bitter animosity succeeding a prolonged strife, and not finally quenched until after the War of 1812, precluded the activity of faithful British citizens; only the disaffected here received a welcome. Hence those devoted sons of Britain to whom the natural resources of the New World proved a powerful attraction were by the political situation forced to seek the fruition of their aims in Canada. Under these influences the inhabitants rapidly increased from 65,000 in 1763 to 413,000 in 1814. With the exception of the loyalists who migrated from the United States immediately after the Revolution, practically all the new arrivals were from England, for the French ceased to come during the long period of European upheaval. The effects of this process of Anglicization may be readily anticipated.

Englishmen brought with them their deep-set notions of worship and law. Furthermore, by reason of the hostilities of the day with France, they had imbibed a prejudice against all institutions French. The emigrants from the United States had by association and perchance unconsciously been tinged with theories of freedom, and were indisposed to tolerate any kind of rule which partook of tyranny. By the irony of fate

¹ Cotton and Payne, 97; Payne, 148-149; Leroy-Beaulieu, 587-588.

these men were destined to participate in transplanting the maxims of liberty from that country which they, because of the acquirement of them, had abandoned, to these regions of adoption, where they found them not.

As early as 1791 England accorded recognition to the changing conditions. Strong demands had been made for the repeal of the Quebec Act and the creation of two provinces. Those who had withdrawn from the United States had shunned any fusion with the French element by locating in the remote districts to the north of Lake Ontario; here they instituted a distinct community. It was therefore not unnatural that they should seek an actual political separation from the section where the French sway was practically supreme. Mr. Pitt granted their petitions. A measure was introduced and passed by Parliament which divided Canada into two parts, the portion lying east of the Ottawa River to be known as Lower Canada, and that west of this stream to be called Upper Canada; the first was almost exclusively settled by the French, the latter by the English. The government of each was to be composed of a governor and an executive council appointed by the king, together with the legislature, of which the upper branch, termed the Legislative Council, was named by the Crown, and the lower house elected by popular vote. Universal suffrage did not exist, but the qualification required of an elector was very slight.¹ Although democratic in form, the new administration was not any more responsible to the people under it than at any previous time. Only the Colonial Office in London had any authority over the executives and their respective cabinets. In the lawmaking department the farce was not less; for the Legislative Council invariably blocked any project of reform proposed by the Assembly. This mode of rule was borne by the Canadians for fifty years. Soon after its inauguration similar enact-

¹ For this measure, known as the Constitution Act, cf. McMullen, "History of Canada," II, 269, note to 270; Martineau, "History of England," IV, 128; McCarthy, "History of Our Own Times," I, 48; Merivale, 106; Payne, 143-149; Leroy-Beaulieu, 588.

ments were adopted for Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland; under them, while the degree of independence vouchsafed to the colonists was quite as great as that enjoyed by many of the constitutional states of Europe, still the real control exercised by England was more comprehensive than in the earlier era.¹

The excesses of the French Revolution occasioned a reaction in Great Britain. While one class was convinced of the errors which had caused the loss of the thirteen colonies, another party was equally disposed to question the accuracy of the theory of English rights and liberties. An inclination to espouse a policy of expediency rather than of principle was manifest. To this sentiment the establishment of the Crown colonies owe their origin, while even in those where local self-government was conceded the powers of the legislature were distinctly limited.²

Canada felt the full effect of the tendency of the times. After the division of the two provinces, the course of events in them was somewhat different; as might be surmised, Upper Canada, mostly settled by English loyalists, was the more likely to remain tranquil under British dominion; for many years contentment in fact prevailed; Lower Canada was meanwhile the scene of a bitter struggle. Originally the French, as well remembered, predominated here, but little by little the English population was increasing. In the first instance, the new constitution had under its influence a people the majority of whom were foreign by instinct and nature; to whom the Quebec Act was much more agreeable³ and by whom its repeal was regarded as a violent abrogation of their prerogatives. The lower branch of the provincial legislature, constantly of French sympathies, was continually active in passing measures tending to annul the provisions of the lately proclaimed instrument. In spite of the large English immigration the French element retained the preponderance. Under

¹ For the era 1774-1837 in brief, Cotton and Payne, 103, 104.

² Merivale, 105; Payne, 136.

³ *Supra*, II, 51, 96.

the existing form of administration its resolutions seldom escaped the veto of the upper house or governor. This legalization of minority rule, by which the French party was divested of all practical direction of affairs, naturally provoked deep-seated dissatisfaction and the spread of democracy.¹

Meanwhile the European wars more and more stimulated the demands of Great Britain for Canadian products. Shipbuilding and the supply of articles required by a great maritime nation were benefiting every locality. The ports along the banks of the St. Lawrence were becoming centres of trade and industry. This closer association with England was nevertheless so distasteful to the inhabitants of Lower Canada that they openly evinced their displeasure by imposing all kinds of obstacles on British commerce; these misconceived acts of resentment materially enhanced the prosperity of the other section. Not only did the French faction undertake to block English intercourse, but its partisans organized an obstinate opposition to the enforcement of the laws. Among other things the agitators refused to pay the duly levied taxes, would not maintain either the local or the general government, made life a burden to Englishmen living in their midst, and avoided so far as possible communication with the mother country.²

The existence of these conditions and the growing admiration for the United States throughout this region induced in 1807 the adoption of repressive measures on the part of the parent state. Sir James Craig was then appointed governor of Lower Canada for the express purpose of crushing the incipient rebellion. England for once determined upon a strong policy. The new governor dismissed the Colonial Assembly of 1810, sent the ringleaders to jail, suspended seditious newspapers, and threatened the expulsion of the priests. When he went home, in 1811, Craig published a memorable document, in which he attempted to inform his compatriots of the true

¹ Goldwin Smith, "Canada and the Canadian Question," 87; Payne, 149-150; Leroy-Beaulieu, 589-590.

² Martineau, IV, 128-130; McCarthy, I, 45-46, 49-50; Payne, 149-150.

situation of their authority in Canada. At this time the upper province had far surpassed its neighbor in affluence.¹

Just before the War of 1812 broke out, the English, anticipating the liability of the loss of Canada, again suddenly resorted to the practice of expediency. After Craig's recall a less vigorous successor was named, and it was virtually agreed to let the people do as they pleased for the present. The French were jubilant; for they considered that, having won their contentions, they were henceforth to be under an easy master. To this skilful management the fact was due that they again remained loyal during the prevailing hostilities.² They, believing that they had been triumphant, dreaded a union with the United States, which was only another type of the Anglo-Saxon race. The Americans, in attacking Canada in this conflict, labored under two misapprehensions, which led them to have faith in the cordial sympathy of the masses. They thought that the English party in Upper Canada was weary of French predominance in the entire colony, while the French themselves, in their opinion, were equally anxious to throw off the control exercised over them from England. How the latter were charmed into confidence in their own strength has just been shown; on the other hand, the colonists of the upper province had not yet forgotten that spirit of loyalty which had caused their fathers to withdraw from the lately organized Republic,³ nor were they regardless of the increasing prosperity enjoyed by them under British rule. Both these reasons combined to unite the Canadians in unexpected opposition to American hopes and plans;⁴ probably, had they foreseen the prolonged strife of the next quarter of a century, their decision would have been different, and the Union would have been enlarged to double its actual proportions. The struggle, however, had the unanticipated effect of more firmly cementing the two elements in their fidelity to the Crown; a new instinct of common country sprang up. It was indeed strange how this

¹ Payne, 150-151.

² Goldwin Smith, 91; Payne, 151.

³ Goldwin Smith, 606 (note v); *supra*, II, 96.

⁴ For a brief account of the invasion of Canada, Martineau, I, 386-389, 393.

cordiality of patriotism, then expressed in their exhibition of allegiance, was within a few years to bind them together in the assertion and vindication of their right to a free form of government; such was, nevertheless, the case.¹

After the Peace of 1814 between England and the United States had been ratified, the attention of the Canadians was again directed to their own matters. Englishmen were rapidly multiplying in Lower Canada, and threatening to overthrow the supremacy of the French. This latter section had many well-founded grievances. The fundamental complaint was that the administration was alien, that it was not representative nor amenable to the people. In fact, it displayed at times gross ignorance, besides being antiquated, costly, and dishonest. Finally, in 1828, the so-called "Ninety-two Resolutions,"² signed by eighty-seven thousand individuals, were forwarded to England; the cabinet declined to accede to the requests embodied in them; for several years taxes were not collected, public officers were not paid, and seditious persons were being prosecuted.³ Meanwhile the House of Commons had passed a vote deprecating the imposition of any burdens upon the Canadians without their consent; also reciting that the total revenue of the colony should be disbursed by its own officials, and that the local authorities should be responsible to the legislature.⁴ Thus the chief points of controversy were favorably decided, but the practical execution of these good intentions, being delayed, came too late to prevent uprisings.⁵

In 1837 two discontents, under arrest on some trivial charge, were rescued by a party of their friends. This spark lighted the smouldering conflagration. Open rebellion broke out both in Lower⁶ and Upper Canada.⁷ Ever since the War of 1812 a feeling of mutual sympathy had existed. The inhabitants of

¹ Compare this result with the effect which the war against the French in Canada and the Mississippi Valley had on the inhabitants of the thirteen colonies, *supra*, II, 42.

² McMullen, I, 422; Leroy-Beaulieu, 589-590.

³ Martineau, IV, 128-130; Payne, 152-153.

⁴ Leroy-Beaulieu, 589-590.

⁵ For local conditions in Canada about 1830-1832, Merivale, 108 et seq.

⁶ McMullen, II, 63.

⁷ *Ibid.* Ch. IV.

the latter district had in this interval materially increased in numbers, and the newcomers found themselves, by fine legal distinctions, substantially excluded from participation in affairs; their position was very similar to that of the French in the other province—they were in the numerical majority, but without the power of control. The progress of the United States had, likewise, a wonderful influence on the colonial population. The spirit of freedom was rife; appeal to arms was the natural result. The troubles of 1837–1838 bade fair to assume considerable proportions, but, after some petty successes on the side of the insurgents under Louis Joseph Papineau¹ and William Lyon Mackenzie, were suddenly quelled. In the meantime the British Parliament had suspended the constitution and established military rule.² This was the situation at the date of the accession of Queen Victoria.³

Many Canadians were fleeing to the United States; some were being executed, and a few were on their way to exile in the Bermudas or Australia; while the English masses were in blissful ignorance of the outbreak, its causes, or consequences. Several of the prisoners en route for Australia, in 1839, were shipped via Liverpool; they happened to have the opportunity to talk of the events in which they had taken part; their story, spreading like wildfire, aroused a storm of angry protest.⁴ Not only were they released, but such pressure was brought to bear on Parliament as at last to have effect.⁵ Englishmen, always firm in the maintenance of their own liberties, required their representatives to apply the same doctrines to the Canadians. The Earl of Durham,⁶ sent as special commissioner to the colony, had already recommended a plan for the amalgamation of the two provinces, and finally,

¹ For Papineau, cf. McCarthy, I, 50–51.

² For the rebellion and this period in brief, cf. Martineau, IV, 130–132; McCarthy, 49–53; Payne, 153.

³ Cotton and Payne, 104.

⁴ Payne, 153; McCarthy, I, 53.

⁵ Cotton and Payne, 104–105.

⁶ For Lord Durham's term in Canada, cf. Martineau, IV, 132–142, 126–127; McCarthy, I, 54–69.

in 1840, the Union Act was passed.¹ This measure provided one governor and one legislature, to be composed of the Legislative Council, appointed for life, and the Assembly, elected by vote every four years; the Executive Council, chosen by the governor, could retain office only so long as it was in accord with each house. Upper and Lower Canada were given an equal number of members in the Assembly, an injustice to the latter, which was the more populous, with the evident intent to restrain its people from securing command of the administration, an aim which was accomplished.²

Although the Union Act was the first step toward the recognition of the colonial independence of Canada, the campaign for responsible government still lasted five years. In September, 1841, the Canadian House of Assembly adopted certain resolutions demanding this concession; both in England and in Canada the subject was warmly and thoroughly argued until in 1846, when the British Parliament and Crown yielded.³ Gradually the French inhabitants accepted the reforms, and the alignment of politics, losing its racial characteristics, assumed the nature of a struggle for principles in the development of legislation. Nevertheless, the French continued to remain a strong element closely allied in the defence of their old-time inherited laws. The parties soon became known as "Liberal" and "Conservative." Distinct progress in finance and land tenure was achieved, and the possibility of great amelioration in reference to these and other details of conduct and policy was left to the newly instituted federation. The feasibility of such changes elicited much

¹ "The legislative union of the two Canadas was proclaimed on the 10th of February, 1841, — the queen's first wedding-day and the anniversary also of the conclusion of the treaty of 1763 which made Canada a British colony; and also of an act which it was less conciliatory to remember — the royal assent to the suspension of the constitution of Lower Canada." — MARTINEAU, IV, 148; McCarthy, I, 67-69.

² For the provisions of the "Union Act," Munro, "Constitutions of Canada," 19; McMullen, "Canada," II, 160; Cotton and Payne, 105; Payne, 153-154.

³ Hurlburt, 37-44. Responsible government in fact did not go into effect until 1848, McMullen, II, 159-160, 169, 170, 174, 201, 206-207; Munro, 189; Todd, "Parliamentary Government in British Colonies," 24-27.

discussion. The local contest for supremacy was protracted; but, little by little, the Liberals, who were in power, consummated many of their projects.¹

Lord Elgin was in 1847 appointed to the governorship. He succeeded in placing the realty system on a more modern basis; he also fostered the construction of railroads and telegraphs and the improvement of waterways, as well as other public works. During his term the restriction to deal only with England was removed from Canadian trade, to which enactment subsequent prosperity has been chiefly attributable. He also proposed a general amnesty for ex-rebels, and a scheme for the reimbursement of those who had suffered losses in the times of disturbance; this procedure aroused the indignation of the Conservative minority. During serious riots in Montreal, then the capital, the Parliament building was burned. The English House of Commons, however, on appeal, sustaining Lord Elgin in his action, thereby affirmed the principle of responsible government by the majority, as granted to the colony ten years previously.²

In 1856 the upper house was rendered elective, the members being chosen for eight years.³ Ever since the union, the question of a permanent capital had been a source of spirited controversy. First at Kingston, then at Montreal, Toronto, and Quebec, the Legislature had met. Finally, when all parties, unable to agree, submitted the solution of the problem to the Crown, the queen decided in favor of Ottawa.⁴

From the era of the rebellion, a consolidation of all the English possessions in North America had been regarded by many statesmen as the ultimate cure for colonial ills.⁵ The effectual movement toward this end was eventually due to Nova Scotia. At a convention held in Quebec during October, 1864, Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island joined in a memorial requesting that they be united in one confederation.⁶ For this purpose the two divi-

¹ Payne, 155.

² *Ibid.* 156.

³ Munro, 20.

⁴ Payne, 157-158.

⁵ McCarthy, IV, 157.

⁶ For this meeting, cf. Hurlburt, 47-55; for the resolutions then passed,

sions thereafter known as Quebec and Ontario were again created, and then they, together with the other colonies just named, were authorized to form the Dominion of Canada. The English Parliament passed the enabling act in 1867;¹ subsequently the power to receive new members was conferred, and by virtue thereof, British Columbia (including Vancouver's Island), Manitoba, and Prince Edward Island have been admitted.² The constitution provides a Parliament of two Houses; the upper appointive, and the lower elective; the responsibility of the administration is confirmed. The governor-general is designated by the Crown, but his cabinet must represent the will of the popular branch.³ Each province has its own local autonomy, of which the broader system is the type.⁴ In every department the fullest degree of civil freedom has thus been attained. A separate judiciary, entirely independent of England, also exists; for from the Supreme Court there is not any appeal. The veto right, reserved by the Crown over legislation, is unexercised.⁵ Canada is destined to still further political development. In 1870 Manitoba, acquired from the Hudson's Bay Company, was organized; the same corporation's other former domains were also constituted the Territories of the Northwest;⁶ so that, sooner or later, as these regions become more densely populated, the number of states is certain to increase.

Appendix A, 229-254; for a prophetic view of the New Dominion before its formation, *ibid.* 212-225.

¹ British North America Act, 30 and 31 Vict. Ch. 3; amended by 34 and 35 Vict. Ch. 28; 38 and 39 Vict. Ch. 38; 49 and 50 Vict. Ch. 35; "American Annual Cyclopædia" (1867), 273-279; (1868), 219-223; "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 220-222.

² Cotton and Payne, 112 et seq.

³ Dicey asserts that the authors of the British North America Act took the Constitution of the United States as their model, "Law of the Constitution," 156. This statement is, however, disputed by many eminent writers. An interesting comparison of the constitution of Canada and that of the United States will be found in Lefroy, "Legislative Power in Canada," introductory chapter; cf. also Dilke, "Problems of Greater Britain"; Goldwin Smith, 147; McCarthy, IV, 154-158; Payne, 162-164. For list of Canadian cabinet officers and their duties, Cotton and Payne, 143-144.

⁴ For details of local provincial administration, cf. Cotton and Payne, 144-146; "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 222.

⁵ Payne, 162-164.

⁶ McCarthy, IV, 159; Leroy-Beaulieu, 602.

Before the opening of the nineteenth century, the annals of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, British Columbia, Vancouver's Island, and Prince Edward Island were not important. Nova Scotia, originally occupied by the French, was transferred to England by the Peace of 1713; in that province, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Cape Breton, ceded by France to England in 1763, were for a time merged; afterward the two first-named conquests were again detached and erected into distinct establishments. From Nova Scotia—the French Acadia—the earliest settlers had been driven in 1755.¹ During the Revolution these districts remained tranquil; their method of rule was subsequently remodelled on the same basis as that of old Canada, and they continued their indifferent attitude to reform until their absorption in the new confederation.² In 1778 English outposts were located in British Columbia and on Vancouver's Island, but prior to the period of the gold fever in 1858 not any regular provincial administration existed. Soon after its inauguration, both were, in 1871, annexed to the Dominion.³ Newfoundland, the only dependency in North America which still maintains its separate entity, was declared to belong to England in 1713; for more than a hundred years noted merely as the home of fishermen and as a disorderly community, it was, until comparatively recently, a Crown colony. In 1826 law courts were introduced and a land system elaborated; in 1832 a constitution was decreed, and in 1838 its legislature began to meet; finally, in 1852, responsible government was accorded.⁴

The history of the Hudson's Bay Company within this century is, for the most part, the plain narrative of a trading association. In 1811 a portion of its territories was sold to Lord Selkirk, who founded the Company of the Northwest;⁵

¹ *Supra*, I, 383, and notes 1 and 2.

² For Nova Scotia, cf. Dilke, "Problems of Greater Britain," 24; Payne, 159-160.

³ *Ibid.* 160-161; Leroy-Beaulieu, 603, 607.

⁴ For Newfoundland, cf. Dilke, Ch. I; Payne, 161-162; Leroy-Beaulieu, 603, 608.

⁵ McMullen, II, 338; Greswell, 76.

at its disposal. During the first quarter of the century all the available soil was gratuitously distributed to immigrants; many of these, however, soon selling their rights, the tendency was toward accumulation in the hands of a few persons. About 1825, by reason of a scarcity and at the urgent behest of the Canadians, this liberality was checked and a method of sale was introduced. Then came an interval of uncertain and changing legislation, with, however, an almost constantly rising scale in the value of the public domains. In 1857 an effort was made to improve the situation. The abandonment of the real property of the Crown was authorized; permission to religious institutions to dispose of their estates in perpetuity was granted, and the partial expropriation of the Hudson's Bay Company was undertaken; but the difficulty was finally remedied only after the establishment of the Dominion, by the purchase of these territories and their subsequent opening to settlement.¹

Notwithstanding the errors of policy on the part of the government, the high price of land, and the absence of an abundant husbandry, the welfare of these regions of the North was still never seriously retarded. Many exterior contingencies combined to offset local obstacles. Possibly the diversion of English emigration from the United States was in early years the most potent cause of growth; then the need of England for ship lumber and the provision of supplies for the maintenance of her naval armament exerted a decisive influence. Yellow pine is the staple product of Canada, and numerous watercourses facilitate its transportation to the sea; to this one item, favored by the European market, the earliest won riches were due.² After the forests had been felled, the farmers followed, although owing to the cost of these clearings the destitute were prevented from coming hither. Under these circumstances and the endeavor persistently made by the home authorities to secure only select immigrants, the new

¹ For a discussion of the early Canadian land question, cf. Leroy-Beaulieu, 590-593; Merivale, 107, 432-450; McCarthy, "Our Own Times," I, 40.

² Merivale, 111 et seq.; Payne, 158 et seq.

colonists had at least some little capital. In one sense, while reducing their numbers, these restrictions gave Canada a more effective, desirable, permanent, and prosperous class of inhabitants than might otherwise have been the case; the poor could not indeed remain within her borders with any hope of quickly bettering their position in life; hence one of the greatest drawbacks.¹ Thousands and thousands of individuals only temporarily stopped in these realms before resuming their journey southward.² In view of this incessant withdrawal of so many of its people, it is truly remarkable that British North America grew even as rapidly as in fact. For example, it is only necessary to cite the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. Their united population, as already noted, increased from 65,000 in 1763 to 430,000 in 1814; subsequently, in 1844, it was 1,199,000; in 1851, 1,482,000; in 1861, 2,505,702; and in 1871, 2,812,367. Statistics since the confederation will be mentioned later.³

In the beginning the same commercial policy — so characteristically typified by the Navigation Act — as had been enforced over the thirteen colonies was continued toward Canada. The loss of the former had severely shaken the theories of the system, but in a certain modified degree the doctrine of monopoly was still advocated. In this instance, however, it did not, in practice, offer any insuperable obstacles. England was really the only country to which Canada would at that time, in any event, have had an export trade. The productions of the United States were so similar that Canadian articles could not there find purchasers; and, on the other hand, the provinces were too remote to seek relations elsewhere. The English markets were the most accessible; the obligation to sell to them was, therefore, not any essential hardship. The other regulation interdicting Canadian manufactures was likewise a nullity, for industries could

¹ "Nor again do those provinces afford that paradise to emigrants of the laboring class which has been sometimes held out in fallacious descriptions." — MERIVALE, 113.

² Dilke, "Problems of Greater Britain," 19.

³ For the reasons for the growth of Canada, cf. Leroy-Beaulieu, 593-597.

not, under any possibility, have been created in the first half of the nineteenth century; even in agriculture the supply was not largely in excess of the local demand. When the West Indies were, after the Revolution, prohibited to deal with the United States, this decree was skilfully evaded. Quantities of provisions were sent from the other side of the St. Lawrence to Montreal, and thence reforwarded to those southern colonies.¹ Lumber was then the chief commodity of Canada, and any British legislation detrimental to this staple aroused indignation. England, moreover, furthered the importation of Canadian timber by according it the benefit of a differential tariff in its competition with that of Sweden; but, on the other hand, its shipment to the United States was positively forbidden.²

The Parliamentary measure of 1846 giving Canada a responsible government irrevocably bestowed upon it commercial independence. Although the Navigation Act was still upon the statute books of Great Britain, very materially modified, it is true, — as will be seen, — the privilege granted to Canada to legislate for itself was its practical nullification. As these regions had developed, the need of liberty in trade had become not less apparent than that of freedom in politics; the latter presupposed and realized the former; for, when it was conceded, the right of making laws for all purposes was a necessary corollary. For a long time England struggled against the inevitable, but in vain. The Navigation Act might stand, but, with the power of self-rule in their hands, the Canadians could easily challenge its terms.³ Thus in every aspect the reform in administration had brought them non-interference and relief; it also conferred upon them new blessings. With the growth of commerce various occupations previously of little consequence acquired greater importance.

¹ McCulloch, "Commercial Dictionary," 321, quoting Parliamentary Paper, No. 292, Sess. 1843.

² For a general discussion of the economic system applied to Canada, cf. Leroy-Beaulieu, 597-601.

³ On the gradual nullification of the Navigation Act, cf. "Speech of Earl Grey in House of Lords" (May 8, 1849), Hansard, CV, 53-79; Walpole, V, 217; VI, 228-232.

Agriculture as a pursuit was more and more promoted.¹ A circumstance aiding it was the construction of highways; under the old régime the roads were few and indifferent. One of the first objects of attention on the part of the Parliament, after the augmentation of its authority, was the elaboration of interprovincial communication. This spirit has uninterruptedly been manifest even to the present. To its results, first in turnpikes and subsequently in railways, the Dominion owes much. As the welfare of any country primarily depends upon the maintenance of good public thoroughfares, so Canada by their improvement correspondingly increased in prosperity.²

Owing to its natural conditions and numerous political divisions, large accumulations of capital did not in early days find place in British North America, nor did those industries so dependent on the aggregation of money there come into existence. Prior to 1860 manufactures and mining were of little value; only shortly after that date they began to appear. To break down intercolonial tariffs, to obviate the possibility of a variety of regulations, and to assure a wider, safer, and more remunerative field for investment were some of the moving reasons toward the proposal to federate all the provinces. The success attained since the accomplishment of this plan has not disappointed the hopes of those who conceived and carried the project to fruition. The rapid development of recent years has borne overwhelming testimony to their wisdom.³

A most praiseworthy achievement soon effected was the pur-

¹ In 1891 there were 28,537,242 acres of improved land out of 60,287,730 acres of occupied land, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 229.

² On June 30, 1898, Canada had 16,890 miles of railway, *ibid.* 234.

³ The rapid growth of Canadian industries is clearly shown by the value of its exports at two different epochs as below:—

	1880	1898
Produce of the Mines	\$2,877,000	\$14,460,000
" Fisheries	6,579,000	10,842,000
" Forests	3,945,000	6,013,000
Animals and their Produce.	17,607,000	44,301,000
Agricultural Produce.	22,294,000	33,063,000
Manufactures	16,197,000	31,179,000
Miscellaneous	640,000	1,045,000

"Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 232.

chase of the old Hudson's Bay Company's territories. By this act a vast region, almost as extensive as the United States, was opened to settlers.¹ Another task, not less notable, was the building of the Canadian Pacific.² Not merely Canada, but likewise England, was, perhaps equally, interested in the enterprise; for this railway not only rendered the Dominion independent of its southern neighbor for the transportation of its products, but has also become at once the greatest and safest artery of travel for the entire British empire. Meanwhile the St. Lawrence and other interior waterways, as well as the ocean ports on both sides of the continent, have been deepened and renovated.

Parallel to the activity in the inauguration of public works, similar progress in material, economic, and industrial respects has been made. As a gauge of this advancement, reference to a few statistics may be permissible. The first financial year of the new federation closed June 30, 1868. Official reports then stated the "ordinary revenue" to have been \$13,716,786.72 and the "ordinary expenditures" \$13,366,490.55. The assets were \$93,518,129.12 and the liabilities \$94,434,443.74. The annual trade was found to be \$131,027,532, of which the imports were \$73,459,644 and the exports \$57,567,888. The first census, taken in 1871, showed 3,712,000 inhabitants. Now compare with these figures the returns for 1898-1899. They were, revenue \$46,743,336, expenditures \$41,904,592; the debt on July 1, 1899, was \$345,160,902 (net \$266,274,538). The commerce for the fiscal year 1897-1898 was \$304,475,736, being imports \$140,323,053, exports \$164,152,683. The length of Canadian railways is now very nearly 17,000 miles. The enumeration of 1891 indicated the population of the Dominion to be 4,833,239; and since then there has probably been a further increase of 500,000 people. The total area is 3,653,946 square miles.³

¹ *Supra*, II, 106-108.

² Greswell, 81.

³ For more complete statistics, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 224-238, whence those given in the text are drawn; cf. also the "Annual Cyclopædia" for recent years.

Under the form of federal responsible government Canada has ceased to be a colony except in name. Her political, social, and financial history has assumed the significance of a national narrative, the record of which, within the past thirty years, is not comprised within a paragraph or a chapter. Only brief mention can be made of a few of the questions of the day. In international affairs, the relations with the United States must, after those with the British empire, be foremost in the thoughts of Canadian statesmen. The fisheries, treaties of reciprocity, and Alaskan boundary disputes have therefore always been fruitful of debate.¹ Of domestic difficulties, the most serious was the rebellion of 1885 in the Northwest.² The ever persistent topic has been the tariff, with the tendency more or less strongly toward protection; the development of the various resources of the country has been the object of deep solicitude; and the Indians have also received great attention. The gravest subject has been the maintenance of harmony between Catholics and Protestants, who still inherit many prejudices of their French and English ancestors; the latest phase of this antipathy is exemplified in the Manitoba school controversy. Nevertheless, with good judgment and prudence there is not any insurmountable obstacle involved in the solution of these open problems.³ As the Dominion advances in age, the ties which bind the provinces together will inevitably, as invisibly, harden, assuring for the future a growth far beyond the anticipations of its founders, or even those of its actual administrators.

In the wider sphere of the federation of the British empire, Canada seems destined to play a leading rôle. As this colony was the earliest to obtain responsible government, so it was one of the first, in 1884, to participate in the inter-colonial congress held in London.⁴ Again, in 1897, the Cana-

¹ On the fisheries, cf. Moore, "International Arbitrations," 703, 708, 710, 719, 721, 47-51 et seq.; on the Alaskan boundary question, *ibid.* 755-760.

² McMullen, "Canada," II, Ch. XIV; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1885), 124-129.

³ A brief discussion of several of these questions will be found in the "Annual Cyclopædia" for recent years.

⁴ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1884), 380-381.

dian premier took part in a similar gathering in that same city, when memorable resolutions, touching the political and commercial situation of the mother state and her possessions, were adopted.¹

The consideration of the feasibility of creating a closer union between them terminated in a conclusion favorable to more intimate trade connections, but adverse to any modification strengthening political bonds, although the meeting declared for federation wherever geographically practicable, and it was further voted that "it would be desirable to hold periodical conferences of representatives of the colonies and Great Britain for the discussion of matters of common interest." The immediate result of these debates was the subsequent denunciation of the preferential customs treaties previously existing between the United Kingdom and Germany and Belgium respectively. It was the first occasion when the voice of the dependencies induced action by England affecting her international policy.

¹ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1897), 366-367.

CHAPTER XXI

ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, AND FIJI

AUSTRALIA, because of its progress, prosperity, and importance, logically occupies in the present British colonial empire a rank second only to Canada. There are reasons to believe that the Portuguese and the Spaniards reached this vicinity as early as 1530,¹ although the statements of their seamen are vague and uncertain; subsequently, for nearly a century, not any probable mention of this continent is found. The authentic discovery happened in 1606,² when a Dutch craft, the *Duyfhen*, cruised a thousand miles along the north shore. During the next few years several ships from Holland visited various portions of the west and north coasts, but the extent of territory to the east and south remained unknown until 1642-1643. The authorities of Batavia in Java then having determined to penetrate the more remote districts, an expedition of two vessels was fitted out for this purpose, under the command of Captain Abel Jansen Tasman.³ This navigator sailed around the island, and for the first time furnished Europeans any conception of its size; thenceforth it appears on maps as New Holland.⁴ One hundred and twenty-seven years, however, passed, during which period Australia was neglected and unexplored; in 1769-1770 Captain Cook⁵ coasted along the

¹ Rusden, "History of Australia," I, 4.

² Some say that Manoel Godinho, a Spanish or Portuguese sailor, was the first to land on these shores in 1601, Trollope, I, 196; Rusden, I, 5.

³ Cf. article "Tasman" in "Encyclopædia Britannica."

⁴ For a detailed list of the expeditions prior to those of Cook, cf. J. H. Heaton, "Australian Dictionary of Dates and Men of the Times" (Sydney, 1879). Pt. II, 31-32; Trollope, I, 196 et seq.

⁵ Cf. "Cook's Voyages," first volume; for the early voyages in brief, cf. Jenks, "History of the Australasian Colonies," 11; Heaton, II, 32-36.

eastern seaboard, discovered Botany Bay, rechristened the entire domain New South Wales, on account of its physical resemblance to old Wales, and opened relations with the aborigines. By one of those peculiar coincidences of human events, the increased knowledge derived from Cook's voyage was permeating England about the same epoch as the ultimate loss of the thirteen American colonies was beginning to be considered inevitable; statesmen and people were nevertheless still too much occupied in the fratricidal conflict then being waged to think seriously of those lands at the Antipodes.¹

After the separation of the United States, a public need was first to turn attention in that direction.² The problem presented itself, what to do with the two thousand convicts who had previously been annually sent to the Carolinas.³ Parliament, influenced by the brilliant description of Captain Cook, and satisfied of the distance of the place, resolved, in 1786, to forward that class of criminals to Botany Bay. Accordingly in the following year (1787) some 850 unfortunate men and women were shipped thither, under the escort of Captain Arthur Phillip and a military guard;⁴ until 1853, and even later, the removal of English felons to one or the other of the Australian colonies continued, but the system was only in full force to 1830, for after that date deportation to the mainland was gradually abandoned.⁵

Almost as soon as Governor Phillip disembarked,⁶ he recognized the error Cook had made respecting the advantages of

¹ How remote the new colonial empire of Britain was at that time is well stated by Payne, 165.

² "American colonization sprung mainly from private adventure. The foundation of the colonies in Australia was not the result of private enterprise, but of the policy of the Ministry of which Pitt was the real as well as nominal head." — RUSSEN, quoted by Trollope, I, 199.

³ Jenks, 22; Spencer Walpole, "History of England," IV, 79 et seq. Deportation of convicts had been practised by England since the time of Cromwell, *supra*, II, 18, 56, and notes; Hallam "Constitutional History," II, 226 note; those who were deported were sold into slavery, *ibid*.

⁴ Greswell, "British Colonization," 147; Trollope, I, 198-200; Heaton, II, 70, 171; Merivale, 119-120; Leroy-Beaulieu, 619 et seq.; Payne, 166-177.

⁵ Cf. "Statistics," Heaton, II, 71.

⁶ His fleet arrived at Port Jackson, January 26, 1788, on which date the British flag was first hoisted in Australia, Heaton, II, 70-100.

Botany Bay, which proved to be a region of swamps and sand-hills;¹ casting about for a better site, he discovered Port Jackson, the channel of which is surrounded by many protected coves;² selecting one of these favored spots, he there located his party, and called it Sydney after the then Colonial Secretary. This little community started under the most unpromising auspices. Its creation was purely artificial, and its situation absolutely arbitrary. For twenty years the very existence of the creatures condemned to dwell there was precarious. Involved in the long struggle with France for supremacy on the ocean, England regarded this far-off settlement merely as a dumping ground for the dregs of her population; while those individuals who by choice, for the one reason or the other, would in ordinary times have been attracted thither were prevented, by the dangers of capture at sea, from migrating. In the first instance, the establishment suffered every hardship and disadvantage. The people composing it, largely drawn from cities, were unadapted to rural occupations, neither were they mechanics nor artisans; the freemen were by profession soldiers, many of the convicts idlers and vagabonds. On the other hand, the possibility of husbandry was remote, and its pursuit was arduous; where the soil was fertile, it was covered with dense and tough timber; where clear, it was barren. Thus the colony, incapable of self-sustenance, was compelled to be at the mercy of the chance arrival of vessels six months out from England, and liable to seizure en route.³ Meanwhile the number of prisoners was being annually increased by two to three thousand, so that the slow development of agriculture scarcely kept pace with the growing demands.⁴ England thought little and cared less for the outcasts of humanity who were left in this

¹ For physical features, climate, etc., of New South Wales, cf. Alfred Russell Wallace, "Australasia," I, Ch. VIII.

² For description of the beauty of Sydney harbor, cf. Trollope, I, 207-213.

³ "Nearly all the food consumed for the first years had to be brought either from England or from some other distant land such as Batavia or Bengal." — TROLLOPE, I, 200.

⁴ The hardships of the colonists are vividly described by Rusden, I, 45-65; cf. also Trollope, I, 199-202; Payne, 167-168.

wilderness to their own resources. The theory was that the governor would be able to oblige them to till the land, from which their nourishment might be derived; but when the settlers attempted its cultivation they found the natural obstacles nearly too great to be overcome; the first farm was not even laid out until 1791, hence famine was so common in all ranks of society that life became cheaper than food.

In the beginning the criminals were employed in gangs on public works for the joint benefit; they were legally the slaves of the state, from the standpoint of labor, and its wards in the matter of their support; practically, their livelihood depended on their own industry; when their terms expired, they were sometimes given a small tract and a few implements. Later, as the number of free inhabitants augmented, the malefactors were apportioned among them, very much as in former days in Virginia and Maryland; tillage for the account of the government was thus in the end discontinued, but this last event did not happen until many years after the time now under consideration.¹

The moral and social conditions of the exiled miscreants, seized from a life of crime and plunged into an unequal contest with necessity, were deplorable; nor was any endeavor made to ameliorate their situation. The administration placed over them was entirely military; the governor was granted full discretion; disobedience to his slightest command meant death. His authority was often wittingly or unwittingly abused; cruelty among his subordinates was common, and stolid indifference among the convicts general. The soldiers also, sent from England to maintain order, were even more lawless than those whom they were delegated to control; being granted an import monopoly in rum, they carried their excesses so far as to proclaim a bottle of that beverage as the unit of currency. It scarcely need be observed that under these circumstances intemperance was rife.² The influx of voluntary settlers was very limited until 1810. William Bligh,³ of the celebrated

¹ Payne, 167.

² Jenks, 35, 42, 46; Payne, 168.

³ Rusden, I, Ch. VI.

Bounty mutiny fame,¹ was, in 1806, chosen executive of New South Wales, with special instructions to suppress dissipation. He not only failed in his mission, but aroused a rebellion, resulting in his own temporary imprisonment and subsequent obligatory departure for England.² Many of the offenders were afterward punished, and the supremacy of the Crown soon restored.

In 1809 Colonel Lachlan Macquarie was named as governor, which appointment he held twelve years.³ To his broad conception of colonial development, and to the energy displayed by him in the execution of his plans, the sudden rise in the prospects of Australia was chiefly due.⁴ The recent insurrection seems, also, to have opened the eyes of the home government; in any event, the regiment so famous for its rum episodes was withdrawn; funds were liberally supplied for public improvements, and the advice of the chief magistrate, relating to the treatment of convicts, was more readily accepted. For the management of the latter Macquarie adopted a higher code of principles. In accordance with the advanced views of philanthropists, he undertook to give them every possible encouragement for the betterment of their position, and to extend to them after the expiration of their sentences — when they were called emancipists — all consistent aid. Under his rule less attention was given to farming and more to road-making.⁵

The Blue Mountains had previously blocked ingress into the interior; in 1813 the colony was threatened with the loss of its cattle for want of sufficient pastures. Explorations were then inaugurated, a pass found, and a highway of one hundred and thirty miles in length constructed.⁶ Much valuable information of the plains was gained, and coal⁷ discovered. The

¹ For this episode, Trollope, I, 202; Heaton, I, 19; II, 41. ² Heaton, I, 128; II, 133. ³ Jenks, 49.

⁴ Heaton, II, 41, 248; Payne, 169. Bathurst soon rose to prominence as a coal town. Heaton, II, 38.

⁵ The output of coal in New South Wales in 1896 was 3,909,516 tons, or 44,000,000 lbs. "Year Book of Australia" (1898), 128, — a figure which indicates the importance of this discovery.

most important influence was, however, felt in another branch of activity.

John MacArthur,¹ an officer in the regular military service, had for some time been interested in the introduction of sheep, and the business was already established.² MacArthur, after his first visit to Australia, had conceived the idea that the conditions were favorable to the importation of the Spanish merinoes, the finest breed then known.³ How to obtain the required individuals of this species was the problem, for to take any out of Spain involved the death penalty, and the only specimens in England belonged to the king. When MacArthur, nevertheless, appealed to the Privy Council, his arguments were so effective that he secured not only several of the desired variety, but also an ample tract of land.⁴ In 1803 he exhibited his first sample of Australian wool in England, and in 1807 exported 245 pounds of it thither. But this occupation was still limited to the district of a few miles around Sydney when Governor Macquarie was building his famous road. Scarcely had it been made passable when the shepherds commenced their rush to the hills. At first they simply squatted, preëmpting as much territory as they needed or could retain from competitors; afterward they paid a certain rent to the government. The industry, thus assured, quickly extended.⁵ Even in 1820, 100,000 pounds of this product was shipped to England; in 1830, 3,564,532 pounds, and in 1840 nearly 7,000,000 pounds.⁶ England had always consumed large supplies of wool, but the existence of it in such abundant quantities, and of such fine qualities, within her own possessions, gave a renewed impulse to the demand. The reflex action in the colony was not slow in manifesting itself. Sheep breeding at once became the chief pursuit of the people, and, as many were soon amassing fortunes by it, this

¹ Cf. Heaton, I, 123-125; II, 133.

² *Ibid.* II, 256-257.

³ Rusden, I, 201; Cunningham, 460, 538.

⁴ Payne, 169-170.

⁵ For the early history of the wool industry in Australia, Wallace, I, 232; Heaton, II, 310.

⁶ Merivale, 120; for further statistics, *ibid.* 277, 467; McCulloch, "Commercial Dictionary," 1369-1370.

source of wealth began to exercise a powerful attraction to free emigration from the parent state.¹ Before 1818 the sum of \$2,500,000 had been invested, and 500,000 acres of pasturage taken up.

The rapid and wide distribution of the colonists, due to their dispersion over the mountains, necessitated vast expenditures for the extension and construction of public works. With other settlements springing up in the vicinity, the importance of Sydney was enhanced; for the first time the city was laid out on a fixed plan, improved, and organized as a municipality. While Sydney was growing into a capital, New South Wales was developing from a mere outpost into a prosperous establishment. In the twelve years of Macquarie's term the area increased twenty fold and the population quadrupled. Not the less under his influence did the social aspects brighten; a considerable number of free colonists arrived, while the emancipists were immensely elevated in their manner and mode of life. More than all else to the advantage of Australia, its reputation in England was gradually but surely gaining. Old and deeply seated prejudices were falling before the colonial petition for fair consideration and impartial judgment.²

The only fault attributable to the administration of Macquarie was his opposition to any restraint in the conduct of public affairs; owing to his inflexibility, the absolute authority of the governor was not modified, nor was a legislative council introduced until the epoch of his successor. His critics also maintained that, under his treatment, the punishment for crime being greatly weakened, the disgrace of deportation was more than compensated by the opportunity granted to convicts to acquire their liberty on easy terms, and subsequently to attain position and fortune.³ Whatever may be the strictly correct view of his policy, it is nevertheless certain that it very soon redounded to the unparalleled progress of the community, to the moral, industrial, and economic advancement of

¹ Payne, 170.

² *Ibid.* 169.

³ For opposite views of Macquarie's policy, cf. Jenks, 49, and Rusden, I, 447-448, 484, 485 et seq.

which he unequivocally contributed. Such was the situation at the beginning of 1822.

Australia had not previously had any political history. As a penal station, New South Wales was under the rule of military commanders unlimited in their powers and, if they pleased, tyrannical in their actions, without any responsibility to any one nearer than England. This practical despotism, nominally to endure yet many years, was now at last to be somewhat modified by the creation of an advisory body. The Legislative Council,¹ authorized during the time of Sir Thomas Brisbane, first met on August 11, 1824, being composed of six individuals appointed by the Crown; five of them were selected among the principal officers of the colony, the other was John MacArthur, famous for his sheep. In 1829 a royal charter was issued, by which this body was enlarged to fifteen persons, including the governor as president; of it three members, likewise chosen by the Crown, were named as an Executive Council. The first session of the reorganized Legislative Council, in 1829, is celebrated for the passage of the measure which instituted trial by jury in civil actions.²

During this same period English immigrants, bringing more or less capital, commenced to arrive; knowledge of the wool industry was being disseminated; the settlements upon Bathurst Plains were more and more requiring the inauguration and improvement of roads and other public works. Convict labor was suddenly found insufficient, and the wages of free men, of whom there was a scarcity, advanced.³ Rumors of these altered conditions, reaching England, occasioned a decided increase in the influx of the working classes.⁴ A new era thus

¹ Heaton, II, 194; besides the creation of the council there was reform in judicial procedure. "Speaking generally, this act laid the foundation of a new order of things. Law was substituted for caprice in the last resort, the governor was still uncontrolled on the spot, but the forms imposed upon him in making orders brought about a grave and more methodical mode of action than could exist under former governors." — RUSDEN, II, 505.

² Heaton, II, 194; Payne, 171.

³ Payne, 170-171.

⁴ For statistics and history of free immigration into Australia, Heaton, II, 122-124.

opened in 1829-1830. The first epoch — the stage as a purely penal establishment — was closed; the transportation of criminals to certain districts still continued, but, notwithstanding, the characteristics of a community voluntarily created thenceforth predominated. About this same date also the diffusion of the colonists over a wider area and their distribution into various groups began.

At this point it is well briefly to consider for a few moments the essential features of that institution which so peculiarly distinguishes the colonization of this continent in its origin, and which is here seen in practice on a larger scale than anywhere else, unless it be as formerly existing in Siberia.¹ A short reference to the economic, social, and moral aspects of the system of deportation may not be entirely without interest.² As Leroy-Beaulieu says, the maintenance of penal colonies has a fourfold object: to rid the parent state of the vicious class, to reduce the disbursements for prisons and prisoners, to promote the morality of the latter, and to people distant possessions. The first end is inevitably consummated; the others are not so easy of accomplishment.³ In Australia the annual expense of supporting each malefactor is calculated to have been, for those retained in the employ of the government, not to exceed \$70; for those let out to free colonists — as was the general rule — \$20. On the other hand, the yearly cost of those at that time kept in England varied from \$68.50 to \$121. Then in the former case the value of the vast public works constructed must also be credited.⁴

The social condition of the offenders was undoubtedly better than it would have been at home; of the 40,000 in these colonies, in 1840, Merivale declares there were 26,000 distributed to private individuals, and of this last number 8000 were

¹ The deportation of convicts to Siberia has lately ceased.

² Rosscher and Jannasch, 309 et seq.

³ Leroy-Beaulieu, 621.

⁴ For a view rather favorable to convict deportation, based on statements made by Sir John Russell before the House of Commons, cf. Leroy-Beaulieu, 621-622. *Contra*, "The labor of convicts is probably the dearest of all labor; that is, it costs more to some portion or other of society." — MERIVALE, 353; for detailed reasons, *ibid.*

engaged as shepherds.¹ The Crown prescribed to the persons to whom the culprits were intrusted minute regulations for their management and treatment; they were obliged to make annual reports upon their deportment, health, and morality. Not only were they required to care for physical needs, but also to use their endeavors to inculcate higher principles and to give regular religious instruction. Limited only by these provisions, this labor was gratuitous; it was estimated that each convict was worth to his master net \$65 per annum. The contention frequently is that the existence of such competition discourages ordinary immigration.² It is true that prior to 1825 the voluntary arrivals were very few, not being more than 300 per year; but this fact can be readily and fairly attributed to the remoteness of the country and the difficulties of the voyage; there were also not yet any natural attractions or wealth sufficiently strong to offset the sentiment of isolation which this land then inspired; from 1825 to 1829 the immigrants annually averaged about 1000; from 1830 to 1839, 5300; and from 1840 to 1850, 12,700.³ Before 1836, those who had, of their own accord, come out to Australia, could not have exceeded 45,000; meanwhile, since 1787 103,000 criminals had been transported to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land.⁴ These figures would indicate that, had development depended upon spontaneous growth, the process would have been very much slower than in actuality.⁵ It is certain that the progress achieved in the attainment of riches was greatly due to the prevailing form of servitude; that, even if the tolerance of this factor was objectionable to workingmen, it was, on the other hand, advantageous to many of the middle classes who, by reason of it, were afforded an opportunity to employ their small capital. So, even if the

¹ Merivale, 350-354.

² For discussion of this point, cf. Merivale, 360.

³ For annual statistics of deportation, 1788-1837, and averages to 1868, cf. Heaton, II, 71-72, also 70.

⁴ Merivale, 351.

⁵ Prior to 1879, 137,161 convicts had been deported from Great Britain and Ireland to Australia, but in the same time 1,250,000 free persons went out; for statistics of free immigration, cf. Heaton, II, 124.

despised creatures were double in number the free men, it was this very circumstance which for several of the earlier years furnished an incentive to settlers of restricted means.¹

Judging from accounts of the most trustworthy character, the morality and conduct of the resident miscreants were extraordinarily good. One-fourth of them in this respect are classified as excellent, one-half as fair, one-eighth as bad, and the other eighth as vicious.² The main fault of the system consisted in the fact that England considered its economic more than its moral phases. The convicts were, soon after their disembarkation, apportioned to the colonists without any previous stage of punishment or probation, nor did subsequent misconduct change their situation.³ The inhabitants, anxious to retain the labor of so much value to them, were of course disposed to excuse and conceal wrong-doing, unless it directly affected their own interests. Some of these assigned individuals, sharp-witted as they were, rendering themselves indispensable to their masters, gained vast influence over them. Not only their own reform failed, but at times the demoralization of those with whom they associated followed.⁴ The condition of the emancipists was the most serious. Little, if any, regular help was extended to them when set at liberty. Far from country and friends, they, abandoned to their own resources, were cast upon society, and the latter necessarily suffered.⁵

In spite of all the efforts of the government, Australian life remained artificial.⁶ There was not any natural growth. The family was lacking; men and riches were there, but women and children were absent; for example, in 1836 there were in New South Wales 55,000 men and only 21,000 women.⁷ A consequent corruption of morals ensued. The

¹ Merivale, 351.

² Leroy-Beaulieu, 624.

³ Merivale, 358.

⁴ *Ibid.* 357.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ "The causes of the early and rapid growth of wealth in these colonies are not difficult to trace. They were in fact almost wholly artificial—on the one hand an ample supply of labor, on the other a large government expenditure."—MERIVALE, 351.

⁷ *Ibid.* 361.

population also did not increase; even in 1840, notwithstanding the large influx of free immigrants, it was still less in the aggregate than the total of deported criminals.¹ But, although the elements favorable to a permanent community were wanting, the country was being thoroughly prepared for the reception of its future occupants. The disclosure of riches, the improvement of rivers and harbors, the construction of roads, the clearing of forests, the building of towns and cities, all were legacies of incalculable service bequeathed by the poor, laborious, condemned, and disdained wretches of the earlier period, to those who came after them. They did their task, and many of them passed away without leaving descendants; perhaps it was a beneficent provision that only their good works should survive, and their vice die with them; surely it is a satisfaction for present-day Australia that the smaller portion of its people spring from that stock.²

How, after 1830, the immigration of free persons steadily augmented has already been noticed; from that time forward the colony lost its purely penal characteristics. Previously the Englishmen who had voluntarily gone thither had had some means, but now laboring men began to turn in that direction. Freedom of the press soon succeeded the inauguration of jury trials.³ Many important discoveries and explorations occurred. The town of Brisbane was settled (1824), and expeditions went to locate in the regions of the south and the west.⁴ About this same date the French were again commencing to seek territories suitable for colonial enterprise.⁵ Spurred by the fear that they might attempt to establish themselves on this continent, British statesmen determined to anticipate any such action by taking possession of all the coast available for colonization. To this resolution the occupancy of the Swan

¹ Merivale, 352.

² For a general discussion of the question of convict deportation to Australia, cf. Merivale, 348-373; Leroy-Beaulieu (621-627), covers practically the same ground. To these two writers the author is chiefly indebted for the statements made in the text. Cf. also McCarthy, "Our Own Times," III, 29-42.

³ Heaton, II, 176.

⁴ Payne, 171.

⁵ Rusden, I, 584, 585 et seq.

River district was due. In 1829 the grant of a large tract in this vicinity was accorded to a certain Mr. Thomas Peel, who, hiring about three hundred laborers under long contract, went out with them, intending to make an agricultural venture on a grand scale. Scarcely had his company arrived, when Peel was suddenly deserted by those whom he had engaged. The men, scattering on every hand, took up lands on their own account; but unfortunately in such a wilderness they perceived it more difficult to gain subsistence than they had supposed, and the greater number eventually died of hardship and hunger. A few, nevertheless, survived, and others followed from England. Freemantle and Perth were founded.¹

Western Australia, organized June 1, 1829, formed thenceforth a permanent establishment; it did not, however flourish; the natives were more troublesome than elsewhere, while the inducements for settlers were less than in the eastern section;² there was not any gratuitous convict labor, nor was there the same probability of attaining wealth. Had it not been for the diversion thither of the stream of criminals after 1850,³ this district might have been utterly abandoned. South Australia, proclaimed a British dependency on December 28, 1836, with its capital at Adelaide, was also originally in a languishing condition.⁴ Attention was then first being more strongly directed to the outpost at Port Phillip in the territory of New South Wales. As far back as 1803 a penal station had been located there, but the site had subsequently been twice vacated. Soon after 1830, when the prosperity of New South Wales began, in the term of Richard Bourke,—the greatest of all the earlier executives,⁵—the prospects of the place improved.⁶ Attracted by the better situation, its cheaper lots, and the

¹ For the enterprise of Mr. Thomas Peel and its results, cf. Jenks, 114; Leroy-Beaulieu, 628.

² For early history of Western Australia, Trollope, II, 79 et seq.; for later conditions, *ibid.* 104-150; generally, Payne, 171-173.

³ This fact was due to the petition of the colonists themselves, Trollope, II, 89-97.

⁴ For early history of South Australia, Trollope, II, 163 et seq.; Payne, 173.

⁵ Trollope, I, 205.

⁶ *Ibid.* 204.

possibility of more rapid success, many, quitting Sydney, removed thither. Finally the governor recognized the community, and regularly laid out a town, which he called Melbourne after the prime minister of England. This city, destined to become the commercial metropolis of Australia, remained a portion of New South Wales until 1850, when the separate colony of Victoria was constituted.¹

The necessity of peopling these newly opened regions—and especially the disastrous experiment of Mr. Thomas Peel—incited among colonial statesmen a more serious investigation of the proper ways and means to be adopted for the accomplishment of this purpose. Sir Ralph Darling,² governor of New South Wales from 1825 to 1831, having occasioned the suspension of the system of free land grants, had introduced the plan of sale at a very small price.³ Although the money thus obtained was being used to pay the passages of emigrants wishing to go to Australia, one difficulty still continued to exercise the authorities; it was the apparent inability to compel these individuals to work after their advent in the colony. Almost invariably they managed to escape from service, to secure a farm or pasture, and become proprietors; thus help was always scarce, a fact seemingly due to too decided a degree of prosperity.

Just then a political economist by the name of Edward Gibbon Wakefield⁴ rendered himself famous by his doctrines. In theories of government and society he was an aristocrat. Sydney, whither he had gone, was, in spite of its wealth, too plebeian and democratic; he disliked to associate with ex-convicts and former toilers, although they might now be capitalists. He wanted to transplant the social distinctions of English life into the colonies, and believed that through suitable methods his ends could be attained. His first proposition was that real estate was too cheap. Having studied the American legis-

¹ For the early history of Port Phillip prior to its separation from New South Wales, Trollope, I, 361-374; Heaton, II, 210 et seq.

² For Governor Darling, cf. Heaton, I, 52; II, 85.

³ For the land question, briefly stated, cf. Heaton, II, 126-128.

⁴ Rusden, I, 589-591; Cotton and Payne, 106-107; Trollope, II, 159-171.

lation relative to this subject, he claimed that, while in principle it was correct, he could improve upon it. He affirmed that the welfare of a new community depends on the abundance and consequent cheapness of labor; that the poorer classes must be obliged directly or indirectly by law to follow their usual trade or occupation at least for a few years after their arrival; that the prevalence of high values will effect this result; that the fund thus created may and must be used in conveying the largest possible number of people from home; that the cost of land must be uniform, fixed, and permanent, irrespective of quality; that this last provision will prevent the dispersion of the colonists over too wide an area, and thus insure strength and stability.¹

Among Wakefield's many adherents was Robert Richard Torrens, afterward celebrated as the creator of the Australian registry system; these two men elaborated their primary maxims. They proclaimed that there was a "natural value" attributable to all realty. In the case of Australia the standard of measurement was expressed by the equation: a tract sufficient in size for the support of a working-man and his dependent family ought to sell for exactly the expense of his transportation from England. The equilibrium must be maintained, otherwise land will be too plentiful or too scarce. One price and only one price was the principal axiom of this school, known as that of "systematic colonization." Its teachings were full of errors, the chief blunders being the failure to consider the varying degree of fertility of the soil and the greater effectiveness of capitalists over small farmers in growing the same crops.²

In spite, however, of its faults, the theory captivated Englishmen by its simplicity and its practical utility. At first

¹ For a full statement of these doctrines, Wakefield, "England and America," "Art of Colonization," and "Letter from Sydney"; also Torrens, "Colonization of South Australia"; more briefly, Merivale, 259-260, 387 et seq.; Payne, 173-174.

² For a discussion of the Wakefield theories, cf. Rusden, II, 30 et seq.; Merivale, 259-276, 380-431; Rosscher and Jannasch (314-327) and Leroy-Beaulieu (629-633) more briefly review the same subject. Gladstone was, in 1841, an adherent of this system.

ridiculed as absurd, it was finally embraced as having a peculiar charm. Generally sale by auction was not abandoned, but the minimum limit was pushed up so that the amounts realized were in proportion. Within a few years this method was in force throughout the Australian colonies. Little by little the upset bid was raised from \$1.25 to \$3 per acre. The revenue from this source was immense, the volume of transactions in New South Wales between 1831 and 1841 approximating \$1,000,000 per annum. Nearly the entire sum was expended in subsidizing immigration. Under this influence the new arrivals increased from 700 in 1830 to 12,000 in 1840. The number of inhabitants, the area under cultivation, and the total of funds invested thus rapidly augmented. Eventually, after 1850, the fixed valuation of \$5 per acre was adopted. In the region of Port Phillip quotations were always the highest. In 1836 the figures were \$7.50, and the average until 1858 had been \$8.¹

Meanwhile thousands and thousands of people were brought thither; to this fact may be attributed the speedy development of that district before the discovery of gold. Only persons of some means were able to make purchases of farms, and a certain capital was also required to work them; thus the poverty-stricken classes were excluded and more substantial growth assured. While the profit drawn from the Wakefield system must be admitted, it should still not be forgotten that throughout New South Wales, where the best results were attained, these theories were being constantly and seriously modified in their earlier operation by Governor Bourke, one of their strenuous opponents.²

In Western Australia these doctrines were not well received; in South Australia, on the other hand, they experienced their chief success. From the very foundation of the last-named colony, in 1836, they were accepted as among its cardinal max-

¹ For the land speculation in New South Wales and Port Phillip, cf. Merivale, 462-465; for statistics, *ibid.* 466-469.

² Payne, 174; for Governor Bourke, cf. Heaton, I, 21-22; II, 42; Trollope, I, 205.

ims. The colonial organization was unique. An act of Parliament (1834)¹ created a governor and a council clothed with executive and legislative power; there was also constituted a board of managers, one of whom should reside in the dependency; this latter was to have control of all public domains and the promotion of immigration. At the very outset, in order to raise the funds necessary to pay the transportation of the first company of settlers, a loan, secured by the expected sale of lands, was made. The establishment was thus not to cost the home government a penny; the preliminary disbursements were covered by a mortgage on future prospects; it was to be absolutely on the so-called "self-supporting" principle. Inspired by these dreams of fancy, speculation immediately seized upon South Australia.² Loan after loan was negotiated, the one based on the other as security; a veritable boom set in. The city of Adelaide was laid out, and the price of ground fixed at \$3 per acre; three days later, 560 acres were sold at \$30.75 each; in 1839 property, when centrally located, was bringing \$5000 to \$10,000 per acre.³ The large sums thus realized naturally effected a correspondingly important increase in population; especially since this revenue was by law entirely devoted to the one object, without any allowance for the expenses of colonial administration; money for all other purposes had to be borrowed; but how to pay this indebtedness, or even provide the interest, without violating the terms of the enabling measure, was the problem. The bubble soon burst; in 1840 the crisis came; bankruptcy was inevitable;⁴ Adelaide seemed ruined; even its situation, on the edge of a swamp six miles from the sea, was not favorable. The speculators, many of whom lived in England, had accumulated fortunes; but the poor deluded inhabitants suffered. The British cabinet then came to the rescue, advancing

¹ A bill for the government of South Australia passed Parliament in 1834, embodying in part Wakefield's theories. His scheme of colonization was, however, so modified, that this measure was, in his opinion, defective and full of vicious provisions. For this act in brief, Trollope, II, 150-163; generally for South Australia, Heaton, II, 260.

² Rusden, II, 39.

³ Merivale, 454-455, note.

⁴ Rusden, II, 49-50.

a sufficient amount to carry the community temporarily, until some more tangible basis of prosperity could be found.¹ The South Australian crash will go down in history side by side with Law's Mississippi Scheme.²

Happily for the people there were means of salvation at hand. The soil outside the city of Adelaide being admirably adapted for corn, this region was within a short time the source of abundant food supplies. Moreover, in 1843 the Kapunda copper mines were discovered, and in 1845 those of Burra Burra.³ South Australia then quickly revived; in due course, the sheep breeding industry⁴ flourished, while wheat raising⁵ and wine making⁶ were added to the list of occupations. After the failure of the original plan of government, a Legislative Council, appointed by the Crown, was in 1842 introduced, and in 1850 enlarged and made partially elective.⁷

In this connection, the so-called Torrens Act⁸ must not be overlooked; by it the great co-worker of Wakefield invented a more simple method of realty titles. Since then a similar mode of real estate registration has been adopted in many places.

Before finally abandoning the subject it may be well to recall the fact that, with the aid of the funds obtained from the sales of land, 220,000 free individuals were carried to Australia during the period between 1830 and 1850; these immigrants were also in a considerable measure selected under the systematized management which prevailed, so that they were for the most part strong, healthy, and desirable persons for

¹ Martineau, "History of England," IV, 493.

² An excellent history and discussion of the South Australian land bubble is given by Merivale, 451-460, 470-474; Leroy-Beaulieu (633-637) practically covers the same ground; cf. also Payne, 174. In justice to Wakefield it should be stated that he never admitted that his theories had been strictly or scientifically applied. "The experiment did not attain the success of being fairly tried." — WAKEFIELD, "Art of Colonization," Lect. IX, quoted by Merivale, 451 note; cf. *supra*, II, 132, note 1.

³ Trollope, II, 165, 220-232; Heaton, II, 72.

⁴ Trollope, II, 202-219.

⁵ *Ibid.* II, 184-189, 202.

⁶ *Ibid.* II, 199-202.

⁷ Payne, 178.

⁸ For the Torrens Act and its author, cf. Heaton, II, 275-276; I, 205.

colonial life. While the Wakefield system and the free transportation of colonists have ceased to exist, nevertheless, in the results attained and in the permanent influence thereby exerted on the progress of these communities, they still deserve more than casual notice. With all their faults, these two potent principles in the colonization of that continent merit thoughtful consideration for the wonderful work effected.

While such transformations were being achieved in Australia proper, two other centres of English energy were being created in the neighboring islands. Both Van Diemen's Land¹ and New Zealand, although with vast contrasts of detail, were being brought more and more within the field of British activity. The former, now known as Tasmania, first settled by convicts in 1803, remained an integral part of New South Wales until 1824, when a partial severance occurred.² Different councils were then instituted, and a separate lieutenant-governor named for the newly organized districts, over which the older colony, however, still continued to exercise authority. When, in 1837, deportation to the mainland was suspended, the stream of depraved humanity was turned with increased momentum upon the soil of Van Diemen's Land; at that time this population already numbered 17,500, and thenceforth rapidly augmented; but some changes in procedure were soon made.

The English government began to limit the application of this penalty only to the worst criminals, the system of assignment among the free inhabitants was discarded, and the culprits were put at hard work in the construction of public improvements. This modification in policy was due to the many complaints of depredations caused by escaped miscreants, not less than to the belief that the penal element was enjoying too great privileges. It had become the custom of friends of the condemned to emigrate and locate in the vicinity where the

¹ For a description of the physical features, resources, etc., of Tasmania, cf. Stanford, "Compendium of Geography and Travel," Ch. XIII.; for its history, A. R. Wallace, "Australasia," Vol. I; for this early period, cf. Heaton, II, 266-268.

² Trollope, I, 204; II, 1-9.

latter were, and then secure the allotment of their labor; thus serious abuses grew up, exile for crime lost its horrors, while indeed it facilitated the free conveyance of many discontents to this land of plenty. The methods later adopted, while preventing previously existing disorders, did not, however, save the colonists from danger. Runaways were frequent; and inasmuch as those who were now deported belonged to the worst type, the country people residing in remote districts were the more exposed. The refugees were seldom caught; for, desperadoes as they were, they well realized that recapture would mean death. Hence they wandered through the mountains, inciting the natives against the whites, becoming leaders of marauding bands, and making unexpected night attacks on any isolated farm-house which might be near at hand.¹ Discharged emancipists also roamed at will, living on charity, or else settled in the densely inhabited centres to take advantage of popular credulity and confidence.

Although all Australia felt these evils in some degree, still Van Diemen's Land, by reason of this constant malignant influx into its body politic, suffered² the most. Finally, because of philanthropic motives, a plan of granting provisional liberty to prisoners on good behavior was evolved. Numbers of them thus procured their conditional freedom, when they were said to be released on ticket of leave. Many at once migrated to the new colony of Victoria, there to resume their former life of crime; the latter protested against this abuse of amity, passed an act forbidding the admittance of these temporarily freed individuals, and was ready to enforce it by arms. The British government, aroused by this complication, and at last resolved to lend an attentive ear to the urgent petitions of the colonists, then agreed that after 1853 deportation to Van Diemen's Land should cease. The residents of this colony, because of past association ashamed of the name which

¹ Jenks, 77.

² For some of the reasons for the discontinuance of deportation, cf. Merivale, 356 et seq.

it had previously borne, resolved to adopt another more auspicious; and in 1856, upon the inauguration of representative government, the present designation of Tasmania was decreed.¹ The shipment of convicts to Western Australia still continued on a limited scale.

New Zealand, although twelve hundred miles distant from Australia, is closely identified with it in history; three separate islands are included in the group.² For sixty years after the visit of Cook, little progress was made toward the colonization of this region.³ Notwithstanding the most beautiful climate in the world, the ferocity of the indigenous cannibal races was a formidable obstacle to permanent settlement.⁴ In 1825 the first English community was inaugurated on the coast, but it was short-lived, its members abandoning it in terror. In 1835 Baron de Thierry, a Frenchman, set up his nominal authority, but also ultimately failed for want of support.⁵ His nation, having, nevertheless, formed strong designs on this archipelago, commenced to put them in execution. Two expeditions—the one from France, and the other from England—started from their respective countries in 1839. The English ships, arriving three days prior to their competitors, thus assured British sovereignty; at this time the scattered European immigrants already approximated one thousand individuals, and as soon as English rule was secure their number considerably increased, especially by reason of those who removed from New South Wales. The settlers of 1839 came out under the auspices of the lately organized New Zealand Company, with the intention of practising the principles of Wakefield;⁶ this party laid the foundation of the city of Wellington. A few months afterward Captain William Robson, the first lieutenant-governor, appeared, and with other reinforcements located Auckland. The colony was at first under the jurisdiction of New

¹ For an account of Van Diemen's Land as a penal establishment, Trollope, II, 1-36; for conditions after the grant of responsible government, *ibid.* 37-76.

² Only two are important.

³ For the early history of New Zealand, cf. Rusden, "New Zealand," Ch. I.

⁴ For some account of the natives in those days, cf. Trollope, II, 301-304.

⁵ Jenks, 170.

⁶ Rusden, "New Zealand," 177.

South Wales; but its advancement was so rapid that in 1841 it was erected into an independent establishment.¹

For a long time New Zealand exercised a potent attraction on the English public. All accounts of its salubrity, its rich fisheries, and its wonderful natural products confirmed the prevailing belief that, but for the warlike aborigines, it would be a delightful place of residence;² so, when a regular government was finally instituted, quite a large number of the middle classes immigrated. Farmers, mechanics, retired officers, and the younger sons of noble families were chiefly found among these settlers. One advantage which this region enjoyed over Australia consisted in the absence of convicts; they were never deported thither.³ Its annals are consequently free from any pollution of morals, politics, and society, the inevitable result of the presence of criminals. Growth was steady, tranquil, and well balanced. Wellington, Auckland, New Plymouth, and Nelson became the principal cities; being at quite a distance from one another, this circumstance occasioned in each the formation of striking peculiarities. Religion here likewise played a rôle, exceptional in the colonization of this century. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the leading spirit of his day in New Zealand, endeavored to direct the adherents of different creeds to certain respective localities;⁴ thus he advised Scottish Presbyterians to go to Otago, Episcopalians to Christ Church, in the province of Canterbury, and Non-Conformists to New Plymouth. As Wakefield raised more money from the sale of lands⁵ than was expended in paying the transportation of colonists, he began to use the funds in the construction of houses of worship; he hoped that eventually every town would have a cathedral. Although these magnificent projects were not fully achieved, it is certain that New Zealand

¹ For this period in brief, Trollope, II, 304-319; Payne, 175-176.

² The future of New Zealand as a British possession has generally been painted by Englishmen in glowing colors. It has been prophesied by some that it would become the Great Britain of the southern hemisphere; a less hopeful view is taken by Spencer Walpole, "History of England," 477.

³ Leroy-Beaulieu, 640.

⁴ Rusden, "New Zealand," I, 298, 447-449.

⁵ For the land system in New Zealand, Merivale, 474-479.

has always, by the uniqueness of its social, industrial, and political institutions, been one of the most progressive communities; while space forbids at present to enter upon the details of these manifold manifestations of remarkable development, their existence must not be the less overlooked or forgotten.¹

The record of the Australasian possessions of Great Britain has been traced to the eve of their majority. Prior to 1822 there had scarcely been any political organization; from 1822 to 1856 a period of transition followed, during which little by little the demands of the people were growing and their privileges were being gradually increased.² Before 1842 considerable dissatisfaction had prevailed among the colonists at the fact that there was not any elective element in their administration.³ In response to this popular sentiment Earl Derby in that year created for New South Wales a legislative body, composed of six public officials, six appointed members and twenty-four elected delegates, eighteen of the latter being from Sydney and six from Port Phillip.⁴ Suffrage was not universal, but was limited to persons having property worth \$1000 or an annual rental of \$100; the qualifications for the Assembly were still higher. At this same date municipal rule was instituted at Sydney and one year later at Melbourne and elsewhere. After these concessions, vigorous agitation continued both at Sydney and Melbourne; the leading question of the time was the reestablishment of the system of convict deportation. The English cabinet evinced a strong disposition again to resume this injurious policy, but the colonists strenuously resisted.⁵ The threatening danger aroused among the latter the

¹ For a good description of New Zealand in the early days, cf. Trollope, II, 320-494; for historical data, Heaton, II, 176-180; Martineau, IV, 494-496.

² For a brief account of popular opinion during this epoch, Heaton, II, 60-70, 194-196.

³ Australian conditions and progress about 1842 are briefly reviewed by Merivale, 120-134.

⁴ 5 and 6 Vict. Ch. 76; Heaton, II, 68.

⁵ Rusden, II, 463 et seq. "The people of Sydney rose in indignation. Upward of five thousand persons assembled at the Circular Quay, and so great was the excitement that the guns of a ship of war were 'trained' on the place of meeting." — HEATON, II, 70, 72, 277-278.

realization of the importance of a larger participation by themselves in local concerns; their need was father to the thought.¹

Canada had meanwhile won the distinction of responsible government; not only did the Australians feel that they merited similar treatment, but a party in England professed the same belief. To Lord John Russell credit must be given for the achievement of the result. The Act of 1850² was the recognition of the practical independence of these Australian communities. New South Wales, South Australia, and Western Australia were previously the only political divisions. Parliament now separated Port Phillip, under the designation of Victoria,³ and Van Diemen's Land, under the name of Tasmania, from the first-mentioned colony; provision was also made that, as soon as certain conditions should arise, its northern portion should be detached. This clause became effective in 1859, when Queensland was constituted.⁴ This same measure then declared that the colonists of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania might formulate the details of their own respective administrations and alter the constitutions conferred upon them.⁵ General assemblies of all inhabitants possessing \$500 worth of real estate or having an annual income of \$50 were held. In each instance a legislature of two houses was voted. New South Wales and South Australia made the upper chamber appointive, the lower elective; in Victoria and Tasmania both were to be selected by suffrage. Three or four years were occupied in the discussion and adoption of the new constitutions; finally, in 1855, they received the royal assent and in the following year the first parliaments chosen under them met.⁶ Thenceforth the governors lapsed

¹ Cotton and Payne, 107; Payne, 176-177.

² 13 and 14 Vict. Ch. 59; Heaton, II, 68.

³ Heaton, II, 68, 70; for early history of Port Phillip, *ibid.* II, 211-215, 284-286; Payne, 173.

⁴ Cotton and Payne, 107 et seq.; for early history, Heaton, II, 227.

⁵ The relation between the colonial governments thus created and the British Parliament is ably discussed in Dicey, "Law of the Constitution," 102 et seq.

⁶ Cotton and Payne, 108. Under the governorship of Sir William Denison, Trollope, I, 205; Heaton, II, 68-69, 196-197; Payne, 177-178.

into merely nominal representatives of the Crown; the colonial cabinets, on the other hand, developed in power, while their tenure of office depended upon the joint will of both branches of the popular body.¹ The principle of amenability to the people was fully acknowledged; for the future the control of local interests was in their hands. After this wonderfully peaceful revolution of 1851–1856 little of essential note occurred in Australian politics until the beginning of the lately pending movement for federation. The theories of responsible government were steadily but smoothly evolved. The same doctrine was likewise applied to New Zealand in 1852, and was from time to time given greater extension until now absolute autonomy exists in every department of Australasian affairs.²

Politics have always been very active in all sections; the overthrow of cabinets and the reversion of policies have been frequent incidents. There are material variations of opinion on many questions, mostly due to a variety of resources and industries. In general, a marked disposition for progress is now everywhere manifest. Western Australia, however, while her neighbors were advancing, took a backward step. In 1848 the colonists petitioned that convicts, so detested elsewhere, might be shipped thither;³ the British government assented, and from then to 1860 this region continued a penal station — being, indeed, the last on the Australian continent. In 1851 the total population of Australasia was 505,906, distributed as follows: New South Wales, 265,503; Victoria, 76,162; South Australia, 63,039; Western Australia, 5886; Tasmania, 68,809; New Zealand, 26,707.

In the economic realm events destined to a still more potent influence were happening, for in 1851 gold was found. This discovery metamorphosed within a brief interval the nature,

¹ For some account of the administrative organization of the Australian colonies, cf. Cotton and Payne, 146–150.

² For early parliamentary data prior to 1879, cf. Heaton, II, 194–203. For a list of the early ministers, *ibid.* 141–162; for later details, cf. "Annual Registers."

³ Rusden, "Australia," II, 638; Trollope, II, 89–97.

character, and prospects of these struggling settlements.¹ Without the existence of the precious metals, the Australian dependencies would inevitably have achieved progress. They had already in effect won their freedom from the parent state, and their ultimate growth was assured; but it would have required a long time to accomplish that which under the real conditions was to be much sooner attained. Happily for them and the mother country, mining was not practised earlier; by that fact great misfortune was undoubtedly avoided; the experience of the Spaniards in America was thus not repeated. When this pursuit did appear, an established form of rule and a seriously developed community had been created, so that many of the abuses and hardships of the craze, such as occur in new and unorganized localities, were corrected and obviated. In spite of the exercise of the utmost diligence to maintain tranquillity and order, considerable disturbance arose; but the evolution of constitutional government during this very period is not a slight proof of the ability of the English race on the most exciting occasions to remain cool-headed, thoughtful, and deliberative.

Although the presence of gold in Australia had been previously suspected, its quantity was not believed to be important.² The first field of this metal was indeed revealed near Bathurst on the Turon River in 1851; the day after the opening of the Exposition at London, the news was given out at Sydney.³ The authorities undertook to reserve a monopoly for the Crown, but the unparalleled rush overturned their decision. Finally a license fee assessed on the placers taken up was accepted as compensation. Toward the end of the same year much richer finds being made at Ballarat, within the limits of Victoria, the tide then turned in that direction.⁴ Farmers abandoned their crops and shepherds deserted their

¹ For a description of Australian colonies at this time, cf. F. Lancelott, "Australia as It Is" (1853).

² Jenks, 206.

³ For detailed history of the gold discoveries in Australia, cf. Heaton, II, 109-113.

⁴ For some account of the gold fields of Victoria, Trollope, I, 402-443.

flocks, enchanted by the sudden vision of fabulous wealth disclosed to their imagination.¹ Multitudes from the other provinces, from China, India, and Europe, hastened to fix themselves in this region, only so recently, because of its apparent unproductiveness, unvalued and shunned. The copper mines of South Australia, heretofore the attraction of the continent, now immediately lost their charm; the men disappeared as if by magic, the company was bankrupt; the agricultural population followed, the colony was almost ruined; only the action of its governor in constructing a highway from Adelaide to the diggings enabled it to weather the crisis.² Many immigrants came by this route, and farmers likewise could temporarily return from the gold districts to reap their harvests. The experience in this one instance is only indicative of the general upheaval which took place. New South Wales and Sydney felt the worst effects, for they were speedily outdistanced by Victoria and the port of Melbourne.³ Within a year or two Victoria had 250,000 residents, and the city of Melbourne counted 200,000 people.⁴ The centre of trade and energy was thus abruptly transferred.⁵ For some time the derangement of usual occupations persisted;⁶ but in due course the recognized order of business was restored. New South Wales was, nevertheless, slow in overtaking Victoria; and Sydney, the former metropolis, has not yet regained the ascendancy.⁷

While an unanticipated rapidity in development and a considerable number of new inhabitants accrued to Australia, there were still among the heterogeneous crowds drawn thither many objectionable elements. The Chinese swarmed, as

¹ Actual statistics of the output are given by Merivale, 466.

² For vivid description of this exodus, Trollope, II, 165-166.

³ Leroy-Beaulieu, 641-642.

⁴ For the discovery of gold and its effects on Australia, cf. Levi, "History of British Commerce," 331; briefly, Cotton and Payne, 109.

⁵ Payne, 179; for a description of Melbourne in 1871, cf. Trollope, I, 382-401.

⁶ For some account of the general turmoil occasioned by the gold discoveries, cf. Trollope, I, 371-381.

⁷ Cf. statistics given in "Statesman's Year Book" for 1900, and in "Annual Cyclopædia" (1899), 60 et seq.

they always do, where wealth exists; and those who emigrate from their native country are most undesirable.¹ Devoted to the accumulation of riches for their own sake, without any very great wants, the miners of this nationality formed a baneful and pernicious factor in society. During the ten years subsequent to 1857, the arrivals in Australia from England included 509,000 individuals; unfortunately, among these a large proportion consisted of worthless fortune-hunters and unprincipled adventurers. A long term of normal immigration was requisite to counterbalance their harmful influence.²

During this era of disorganization and agitation, the authorities never relaxed their efforts to evolve more satisfactory political, moral, and social conditions. While working at the top in the broader sphere of inaugurating independent constitutional administrations, they did not forget the permanent basis of common welfare, founded upon a well-organized educational system; for, in the midst of intense excitement due to two distinct causes, the people of Australia elaborated a comprehensive scheme of public instruction.³ How vastly different their action from the apathy of the Spaniards in South America!

The exclusive advantages enjoyed by Victoria over the other colonies were not of long duration; in a brief time the benefits were generally distributed. A larger population meant an increased demand for agricultural products. The farmers, perceiving, at the best, there never would be gold enough for all, reverted to their fields, as the shepherds to their flocks; the ownership of the mines tended to concentrate in the hands of a few companies. While the output of the most precious metal was decreasing—especially in Victoria—coal, copper, and silver, as well as gold, were being discovered elsewhere. Mining was more and more regarded as an ordinary pursuit, reserved to a special class; and, after the period of speculation was closed, activity in regular industry was naturally resumed. From 1850 to 1865 the inhabitants of Australia augmented by

¹ Rusden, "Australia," II, 679.

² Leroy-Beaulieu, 643.

³ Dilke, "Problems of Greater Britain," 567.

761,000, for whose food and clothing it was at least necessary to provide. In the supply of these needs there was not any restriction; each section might, so far as its resources permitted, participate. Thus the reaction on legitimate enterprise inevitably ensued; in it all communities and occupations shared, so that its results were by far the more enduring.¹

One of the consequences of this prevailing prosperity was the development of the latest Australian colony. Sydney is some distance south of the central point of the eastern coast, which extends fully fifteen hundred miles to the northward; it was therefore to be expected that in due time some place of importance would spring up in this region; and so it happened. In the sixties the city of Brisbane,² situated five hundred miles north of Sydney, experienced quite a growth. Other settlements arose in the vicinity, while many individual farmers and shepherds wandered even farther. Sydney was gradually becoming too remote to be the political centre or commercial metropolis of this vast district. Already, in the Australian Colonies Act of 1851, the British Parliament had provided for such a contingency. Effect was finally given to this purpose in 1859, when the northern portion of New South Wales was erected into the independent colony of Queensland,³ of which Brisbane was chosen the capital. A representative government after the model of the older establishment was at once inaugurated.⁴ Queensland, by reason of the variety of its products, seems destined ultimately to be one of the most flourishing divisions of Australia. A large section of it is under the tropics. Gold, tin, copper, and coal are among its minerals, while wool,⁵ sugar,⁶ and cotton are the great

¹For some statistics of Australian progress prior to 1888, grouped by periods, cf. Leroy-Beaulieu, 644-653; for later figures and more in detail, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" and "Annual Cyclopædia" for recent years.

²For the early history of Moreton Bay as a penal settlement, on the site of which Brisbane stands, cf. Trollope, I, 27 et seq.

³For fuller accounts, Jenks, "Australasian Colonies," 108; Dilke, "Problems of Greater Britain," Ch. III.

⁴For some details of Queensland's administration, Trollope, I, 153-163.

⁵For the wool industry in early days, *ibid.* I, 111-131.

⁶For the sugar industry, *ibid.* I, 146-152.

crops; for these latter staples the plantation system is in full force.¹

Under the charter granted for New Zealand in 1850 its three islands were distributed into six separate organizations. The constitution of 1853 decreed for each of them provincial institutions; then all were federated under one general colonial administration, in which the principle of responsibility was recognized. Subsequently three other provinces were formed and admitted to the union. The defects of the scheme were, however, numerous and vital; it was also found to be costly, cumbersome, and inefficient. The error was universally admitted, but the difficulty was to apply a remedy. For many years the political question was whether to divide the archipelago into distinct colonies, or more strongly to centralize the government, reducing the provinces to counties; the latter plan eventually triumphed.² In 1875 the reform was accomplished, and since that time New Zealand has enjoyed a united and efficient rule.³

The Fiji Islands,⁴ long known as the home of fierce cannibal races, were finally annexed by Great Britain in 1874. The group consists of some 250 isles lying in the Southern Pacific about 1300 miles east of the coast of Queensland. They are scattered through an expanse of ocean about 200 by 300 miles, and their total area is 8045 square miles; their present population approximates 122,000, of whom some 4000 are Europeans. All the natives are now Christians. The imports in 1898 were to the value of £234,850 and the exports £534,105; the debt in that year was £209,216, the revenue £94,165, and the expenditures £87,594. This archipelago was first seen by Tasman in 1643; and afterward, in 1773, Cook rediscovered it. In 1804 some convicts, escaped from Australia, reached these islands and, taking part in their domestic hostilities, succeeded

¹ For other products of Queensland, Trollope, I, 28-30; for the early labor system, *ibid.* I, 132-145, 164-181; for brief history, Payne, 181.

² The result was not, however, achieved without a struggle; cf. Rusden, "New Zealand," III, 92 et seq.

³ For brief history of New Zealand, Payne, 182-183.

⁴ Guillemand, "Australasia," II, Ch. XIII.

in a measure in directing the course of local affairs. In 1840 an American naval expedition visited these waters for the purpose of making a survey. In 1858 the principal chieftain, wishing to obviate the overthrow of his authority, offered the sovereignty to England, which, however, then declined it. Various causes thenceforward favored immigration, so that within a few years quite a colony was established. Complications with the aborigines followed, and in 1871 the Europeans forced the Fijian king to admit them to a share of the government. A so-called constitutional administration was at once founded, but in practice proved unsatisfactory. Some dissensions¹ occurred, and at last, in 1874,² the British flag was hoisted. Since then the whole domain has been organized as a Crown colony under a governor, who is also "High Commissioner for the Western Pacific."³ He is assisted by an executive and a legislative council, both appointed.⁴ The natives are directly controlled by their chiefs, who in turn are amenable to the governor; under the latter are four commissioners, one in each of the three provinces proper, and one in Rotuma. This last-named island is located three hundred miles farther north. Locally the Fijian archipelago is distributed into sixteen districts, in each of which a petty potentate presides; the princes of inferior rank are employed in various branches of the public service. All are paid salaries by the British Colonial Office.⁵

The entrance of Great Britain into New Guinea⁶ was has-

¹ For brief history of Fiji prior to this date, Heaton, II, 97-98; for an early work, cf. Williams and Calvert, "Fiji and the Fijians" (New York, 1859).

² Rusden, "New Zealand," III, 100; *ibid.* "Australia," III, 346-348. During the period when the decline of the cotton growing industry in America was threatened, as the result of the Civil War, hopes were entertained that it might be possible to augment this crop in the British possessions of the Pacific. With this object in view, many people from the more remote islands had been kidnapped and carried to the Fiji Islands, Australia, and New Zealand, there to be sold as plantation hands. It was partly to stop this illicit traffic that Great Britain annexed the Fijian group.

³ Dilke, "Problems of Greater Britain," 459.

⁴ Cotton and Payne, 150.

⁵ For Fiji in recent years, cf. "Annual Cyclopædia" and "Encyclopædia Britannica"; for statistical data, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 253-256. Rumors of federation between New Zealand and Fiji are afloat.

⁶ Cf. Guillemard, "Australasia," II, Ch. XI; Heaton, II, 169-171.

tened by the attitude of Germany and by the action of the Australians, who, thinking that the home authorities had yielded to German persuasion, privately undertook to annex Papua and some of its dependencies.¹ Due mention will soon be made of the events which finally aroused England to take possession. In the latter part of 1884 a protectorate was declared over the south coast of Papua, otherwise called New Guinea. Subsequently the original frontiers have been advanced and numerous neighboring islands included within English jurisdiction. The total area now is 90,540 square miles, with a population of 350,000, of whom 250 are Europeans. This region forms a secondary colony under a lieutenant-governor; the annual expenditure, amounting to about £15,000, is subscribed in equal shares by New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland. The local revenues in 1898 reached £10,300; for 1900 they were estimated at £12,500; the imports in 1898 were £49,971 and the exports £49,859. The existing arrangement for government expires in 1902.²

The present-day story of the Australian mainland is chiefly the description of steady development; since 1859 the number of colonies remains unchanged, but, by the gradual extension of each until their boundaries have met, the process of absorption of the entire continent has been effected. New South Wales and Victoria still continue the most important of these communities; the rivalry between them for the leadership is intense. The latter, which by reason of the gold discoveries once assumed such a preponderance, has been unable to maintain its position; while the former has again recently become the more populous and prosperous; many causes have contributed to this end. New South Wales and Victoria represent the two extremes of free trade and protection, and their jealousy seems to have exaggerated their different commercial policies.³

¹ Queensland in 1883 notified the home government that it had taken possession of Papua, but this action was promptly repudiated, Jenks, 303; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1883), 31-32.

² For recent statistical data, "Annual Cyclopædia" and "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 256-258.

³ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1881), 43-44.

Next to the tariff, the most persistent question in local politics has been the problem of restricting Chinese immigration.¹ The railroads, generally built at state expense from the money derived from the sale of public domains, also constitute the subject of many enactments. Labor problems have everywhere been foremost at one time or the other. The grant of suffrage to women is likewise one of the prominent topics, and has already been adopted in New South Wales and New Zealand. Land legislation has been voluminous. The economic project, second in interest only to federation, involves the completion of the intercolonial railway, postal, and telegraph systems; while the construction of the Pacific cable between Canada and Australia is not merely of colonial, but more especially of imperial concern.²

In 1868 many proprietors of estates joined in efforts to introduce game; much to their pleasure, rabbits and hares were found to thrive, but their enjoyment was brief. The animals multiplied beyond expectation and grew to enormous size; in a few years they were a public pest; not merely fruit, grain, and vegetables were ruined, but even the sheep breeding industry was threatened by the destruction of herbage. Although various methods of extermination have been employed, they have been only partially successful, so that this scourge still remains one of the most menacing factors to prosperity.³

Since 1883 the matter of self-defence — both military and naval — and the annexation of outlying islands have been greatly discussed;⁴ the Australians, while organizing their own forces, have been most urgent in their demands that the Crown, by taking possession of numerous settled archipelagoes, such as the Hebrides, the Solomon, the Friendly, and the Navigator groups, should anticipate their occupation by Germany, France, or other foreign countries. When the British cabinet seemed to hesitate, some of the colonies commenced to act on

¹ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1877), 51-52.

² For discussion of this subject at greater length, cf. "Annual Cyclopædia" for recent years.

³ *Ibid.* (1888), 61; (1889), 56.

⁴ These questions are treated in every recent work concerning Australia.

their own account. Queensland first proclaimed the extension of its authority over Papua, a movement, however, promptly repudiated by the Colonial Office;¹ then, in a convention of delegates from all sections of Australia, it was proposed jointly to annex a large number of islands, and hold and govern them for the common profit; to this petition of the colonists the home government did not reply. Meanwhile Germany seized a portion of New Guinea.² The excitement was then intense; the feeling between England and her Australian subjects ran higher, indeed, than at any time since the attempt to reëstablish deportation. Finally, as a concession, Great Britain did, as lately noticed, raise her flag over the vacant parts of New Guinea and several of the adjacent isles.

After the death of Gordon in the Soudan, both New South Wales and Victoria offered volunteer troops to aid in the Egyptian campaign; those of the former were accepted, but passed only six weeks in actual service, when they were recalled. The Russian war scare of 1885 caused a renewal of military activity;³ and again in the South African conflict of 1899-1900 the Australians, as well as the Canadians, played a distinguished rôle.⁴

Another source of friction between England and these dependencies occurred in 1889. The Queensland ministry protested against the appointment of Sir Henry Blake as governor. The Colonial Office then answered that such officials must owe their choice and be responsible to the Crown alone, and that the representatives of the colony "could not have a veto on the selection." South Australia made a similar objection with like result. The assembly of New South Wales also adopted a resolution expressing its opinion as to the class of persons from whom colonial executives should be taken, and claiming that the people should be consulted. Victoria, on the other hand, announced that it was satisfied with the existing

¹ *Supra*, II, 147 and note 1.

² For the English and German annexations, Jenks, 303; "Annual Cyclo-pædia" (1884), 638-640; (1885), 58-60.

³ *Ibid.* (1885), 60-61.

⁴ The coöperation of colonial troops in South Africa is almost unique.

system. The final response to all these communications was to the effect that not any right or privilege of the colonists to intervene in this matter could be admitted. These incidents well indicate to what extent the Australians are disposed to push their claims for independence, and in themselves created not a little anxiety on the part of the English cabinet.¹

The most disastrous event in recent times for this continent was the financial crisis of 1891-1892.² Prior to the last months of the first-named year Australian banks had flourished. Speculation in the country had, nevertheless, always been an element of danger, as real as elsewhere, although apparently less observed. Nearly \$200,000,000 of English capital were held by Australian institutions on loans, which they in turn had advanced on mining, real estate, and other permanent securities throughout the colonies. In the cities great booms had lately been felt; even the governments had been so far affected as to increase their indebtedness for the sake of constructing public works; but now a reaction, due to prevailing conditions in Europe, suddenly took place. Counting upon the old-time facility of obtaining funds from England, the Australian financiers were continuing the same methods; before they perceived it, the current of money ceased; the stringency followed. Bank after bank failed during 1892-1893; then a veritable panic ensued; the calamity was stupendous. As a result of the conference of the premiers in May, 1893, an organic law—more or less uniform in its provisions—was voted by the various colonial legislatures; this measure, based on the United States National Banking Act, is still in force. A few months subsequently nearly all the defunct establishments were reorganized with the approval of their shareholders and depositors. It is estimated that their aggregate deposits amounted to \$350,000,000.³

Without entering into the detailed narrative of each colony

¹ For this discussion, "Annual Cyclopædia" (1889), 52-53.

² Rusden, "Australia," III, 468.

³ For this crisis and the remedial measures subsequently taken, "Annual Cyclopædia" (1893), 51-57.

for the past forty years, which seems here neither practical nor necessary, a brief comparison of their respective progress is not inappropriate.¹ After New South Wales and Victoria, heretofore mentioned at length, New Zealand is the most populous of these British possessions; likewise, as remarked, it is the most radical in its theories of government, politics, and society; here some of the latest accepted doctrines have found their first practical application in legislation; next to New Zealand in this respect is New South Wales; while at the other extreme of conservatism is Victoria. For the future, South Australia and Western Australia have the brightest prospects of phenomenal development. South Australia, at the mouth of the main river systems of the continent, is already the chosen centre of railway and telegraph communication; through its territory the news and trade of Europe must pass to the older and more thickly settled districts; these facts, together with its numerous magnificent harbors, its pleasant climate, and its productive agriculture, presage a regular and thrifty growth. Western Australia, with an extent of one million square miles, has its fortunes before it. By its remoteness, the poverty of its soil, and the character of the inhabitants, its first years were gloomy and devoid of promise, but in 1890 gold was discovered within its boundaries. At the same time it ceased to be a Crown colony; by virtue of an enabling act, approved by the British Parliament, a constitution was adopted, which inaugurated responsible government. Immigrants flocked thither from England and the other provinces, railroads were built, and at last this region seems to have joined in the general movement of prosperity.²

For the purpose of reference, a few statistics corroborative of Australasian achievement and present conditions must be cited.³ The respective areas of the different colonies are:

¹For the more recent details of the history of Australasia, cf. "Annual Cyclopædia" and "Statesman's Year Book." The latter gives in the case of each colony brief statistical data and a good bibliography.

²"Annual Cyclopædia" (1890), 48-49; (1891), 64; (1897), 63-64.

³Almost all the following statistics are drawn from the "Statesman's Year Book" for 1900, or "Annual Cyclopædia" (1899).

Western Australia 975,920 square miles, South Australia 903,690, Queensland 668,497, New South Wales 310,700, New Zealand 104,470, Victoria 87,884, Tasmania 26,385, Fiji with Rotuma 8045, and New Guinea 90,540. Total for Australasia, 3,176,131 square miles. Their latest estimated population is: New South Wales 1,357,050, Victoria 1,176,854, New Zealand 743,214, Queensland 498,523, South Australia 362,897, Tasmania 171,719, Western Australia 168,408, Fiji and Rotuma 121,738, New Guinea 350,000. Total, 4,950,403 inhabitants.

The increase of inhabitants by decades is indicated by the following figures:—

	1850	1861	1871	1881	1891	1899
New South Wales	265,503	358,278	501,981	751,468	1,134,207	1,357,050
Victoria	76,162	541,800	729,654	862,346	1,140,411	1,176,854
New Zealand	26,707	98,971	256,393	489,691	626,830	743,214
Queensland		34,885	115,567	213,525	393,718	498,523
South Australia	63,039	126,830	185,625	286,211	315,048	362,897
Tasmania	68,609	89,977	100,765	115,705	146,667	171,719
Western Australia	5,886	15,691	25,084	31,000	49,782	168,408
Fiji and Rotuma				127,499	121,180	121,738
New Guinea					350,000	350,000
Total	505,906	1,266,432	1,915,070	2,877,440	4,277,843	4,950,403

The financial situation of these colonies, as expressed in sterling for the year ending June 30, 1899, is shown by the next table:

	REVENUE	EXPENDITURE	DEBT
New South Wales	£9,754,185	£9,734,417	£63,761,666
Victoria ¹	6,887,463	6,692,444	48,354,277
New Zealand	5,022,707	4,858,511	46,080,727
Queensland	4,174,086	4,024,170	33,598,114
South Australia	2,665,477	2,632,840	24,431,590
Western Australia ¹	2,604,943	2,980,495	10,488,363
Tasmania ¹	908,223	830,168	8,412,904
Fiji ¹	94,165	87,594	209,216
New Guinea ¹	10,300	15,000	
Approximate annual total	£32,121,549	£31,855,639	£235,336,857

¹ For year ending June 30, 1898.

The statement of their foreign and intercolonial trade during 1898 is:—

	IMPORTS	EXPORTS	TOTAL TRADE
New South Wales	£21,453,560	£27,648,117	£52,101,677
Victoria	16,768,184	15,872,246	32,640,430
New Zealand	8,230,600	10,517,955	18,748,555
Queensland	6,007,266	10,856,127	16,863,393
South Australia	6,184,805	6,795,774	12,980,579
Western Australia	5,241,965	4,960,006	10,201,971
Tasmania	1,650,018	1,803,369	3,453,387
Fiji	234,850	534,105	768,955
New Guinea	46,971	49,859	96,830
Total	£68,818,219	£79,037,558	£147,855,777

The number of miles of railway and telegraph lines opened at the close of 1899 was:—

	RAILWAYS	TELEGRAPH LINE	WIRE
New South Wales	2,791	13,242	35,630
Victoria	3,123	6,599	14,729
New Zealand	2,257	6,736	18,746
Queensland	2,742	10,088	18,565
South Australia	1,870	5,874	14,858
Western Australia	1,850	5,886	8,650
Tasmania	508	1,927	3,578
Total	15,141	50,352	114,756

Unless very observant of current events some may have been disposed to underestimate the importance of this continent as a factor in modern life, too prone to think of its inhabitants as the original colonists of seventy-five years ago — convicts scattered and subsisting with difficulty in several distinct communities separated by vast stretches of wilderness

and ocean. Dismiss forever these ideas. Australia bears scarcely a trace of the impress of the earliest settlers; the people are not merely rich, but they are highly upright in morals and well developed in intellect; the penal stations have been succeeded by such cities as Melbourne (469,880 in population), Sydney (426,950), Adelaide (147,615); Brisbane (107,840), and Auckland (57,616). As an indication of the educational facilities, mention should here be made of the universities at Sydney, Melbourne and elsewhere;¹ nor should the expositions held at various places be forgotten.

Australia is finally united. Public sentiment, progress, welfare, and patriotism have achieved the creation of an Australian nationality. The highest triumph of colonial politics is the successful federation of these dependencies.² Owing to the immense territories comprised within them, their varied interests, and their divergent policies throughout the era of responsible government, the task has been fraught with much difficulty. These communities cling steadfastly to their principles of liberty, and although in many respects they have agreed that union would be useful, some of them have hesitated, and at times have refused, to make any individual sacrifice for the desired end. The subject had been approached as early as 1852, but the first conference was held at Melbourne only on March 4, 1868, upon which occasion all the colonies except Western Australia were represented. While the principal object was to discuss the transoceanic postal service and fix for it certain official routes, it was likewise determined to establish a Federal Council, consisting of two delegates from each locality, to which any topic of general concern should be referred.³

In 1870 another congress convened in the same city for the purpose of organizing a customs league. A resolution advocating free trade among its members, then adopted, was subse-

¹ Heaton, II, 282-284.

² For an early argument in favor of federation, cf. Trollope, I, 327-348; on the possibility of separation, *ibid.* 351-360; on both these questions, also McCarthy, "History of Our Own Times," IV, 164-170.

³ Heaton, II, 65; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1898), 60.

quently given effect by separate legislative action. At that time efforts were likewise made to secure throughout the continent reciprocal extradition for crime, uniform insolvency and bankruptcy laws, and the inauguration of a single appellate court.¹

Federation was next broached in 1881; an intercolonial gathering of statesmen from all sections then met at Sydney to consider the most feasible ways and means of accomplishing it. The tacitly recognized fact then openly developed that the greatest obstacle was the difference between the commercial theories of Victoria and New South Wales. The former, since 1870, had, as it still has, a highly protective industrial system, while the latter follows the doctrine of a tariff for revenue only. The other less important districts have for the most part espoused the more liberal principles. This assemblage at once attacked the heart of the question, when it voted that commissioners be appointed from the colonies having responsible governments to elaborate a common scale of duties; Victoria alone dissented. The meeting further recommended the increase of the British squadron in Australian waters, but declined to bear one-half of the expense thereby incurred. The only really effective measure was the decision to institute a court of appeals, a copy of the requisite enactment being prepared for submission to each of the local legislatures.²

Thenceforward the movement for federation acquired a more definite impulse.³ A feeling of mutual interest began to be manifest. Again, in the winter of 1883-1884, a new conference occurred at Sydney, which, for the first time, had a sort of authorized character, the delegates having been elected by the various colonial parliaments, out of their own membership. The peculiar feature was that Victoria had been its principal champion; its deliberations, however, were, so far as they regarded the main subject, without result.⁴ It resolved:

¹ For this congress, "Annual Cyclopædia" (1870), 52-53.

² For the conference of 1881, cf. "Annual Cyclopædia" (1881), 43-44.

³ For a brief history of the movement since this time, cf. "United States Consular Reports," LVIII, 216 (September, 1898), report by Consul Bell.

⁴ For the conference of 1883, "Annual Cyclopædia" (1883), 30.

first, the creation of an Australian Dominion; secondly, the annexation of some scattered islands; and, thirdly, joint legislation against foreign convicts. The plan involved the establishment of a Federal Council, to meet at Hobart, Tasmania, under the jurisdiction of which the relations of Australia with Oceanica, the treatment of criminals, and topics appertaining to the fisheries were to be placed. All the provinces except New South Wales and New Zealand promptly ratified the project. For some time they held back, the one because of fear that heavier burdens might thus be indirectly assumed by it, the other by reason of indifference, due to its remoteness; but finally both the dissentients expressed their qualified approval.¹

In 1885 the British Parliament passed an enabling act, by which the proposition just described was to be submitted to the people of the different dependencies. The English cabinet in the preparation of this measure carefully consulted the Australian ministries. New South Wales and New Zealand favored a merely nominal federation, reserving to its members state rights and the power of secession, while Victoria and the rest wished a strongly centralized union, with a national Congress. This divergence of views rendered the task of the elaboration of a constitution exceedingly difficult. The Federal Council Enabling Bill, as eventually adopted, provided for the creation of a Federal Council in which such colonies as so decided might be represented: each Crown colony by one delegate, the others by two representatives. The authority of this body was to embrace all matters in which unity of action might be considered expedient; and was to comprise (1) relations with the islands of Oceanica, (2) the immigration of criminals, (3) deep-sea fisheries, (4) intercolonial service in civil actions and enforcement of judgments-at-law, (5) extradition and custody of prisoners, (6) any subject proposed by the home government at the instance of any colony, and (7) any of the questions hereunder named only when referred by two legislatures. In the last class were included defence,

¹ For the deliberations of 1884 and their results, cf. "Annual Cyclopædia" (1884), 56,

quarantine, patents, copyrights, commercial paper, weights and measures, marriage, divorce, naturalization, corporations, and other topics of general interest, for which uniformity of law is desirable; in respect to those just enumerated, only the colonies suggesting them were to be bound, except that any other might approve the decision and thus enjoy the benefits. The privilege of veto over all legislation was reserved to the Crown. On the other hand, any pertinent recommendation regarding Australia might be made by the Council. The funds to cover its expenses and those growing out of its action were to be contributed in proportion to population. The first place for the meeting of this body was fixed at Hobart, Tasmania, but afterward it must determine that point for itself; it was to assemble at least once in two years, and could be called in special session by any three governors. New South Wales, Victoria, New Zealand, South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania, Queensland, Fiji, and any other establishments to be created might be represented and join or withdraw at any time, as each saw fit. This very loosely jointed scheme was accepted by all except New South Wales, New Zealand, and South Australia.¹

The first Council under the newly promulgated constitution met at Hobart in 1885 and passed several intercolonial laws within its grant of powers;² but their effective operation was unfortunately impeded by their nullity in the colonies which did not participate therein. The weak, inefficient, and only partial union never developed either in authority or strength; although the Federal Council, so called, continued until recently to exist, it soon lapsed into a dormant condition, realizing the impotency of its own acts, did not even come together at regular intervals, and, when convened, attempted little real business.

The idea of federation in principle was meanwhile constantly growing stronger among the Australians. Very rare indeed was the man who would confess himself an opponent to theo-

¹ For the details of this enabling act, "Annual Cyclopædia" (1885), 57-58.

² *Ibid.* (1886), 59.

retical unity; the difficulty arose solely in the agreement on minor items. The obstacles to greater centralization were in imagination a thousand fold increased by the rivalry of New South Wales and Victoria, each being afraid that by fusion it would lose something to the benefit of its competitor. As an illustration of the limit to which this jealousy was pushed, the method of railway construction may be cited. With the express purpose of injuring each other's trade, different gauges of track were adopted. But in spite of these petty enmities, attributable to a desire on either side to gain some undue local advantage, the movement finally succeeded.

In 1890 the Australian Federal Council assembled at Melbourne with all sections except Fiji represented. Sir John Hall of New Zealand, and Sir Henry Parkes, premier of New South Wales, then united in offering an address to the queen, declaring "the best interests and the present and future prosperity of the Australian colonies will be promoted by an early union under the Crown, with a single legislative and executive government on principles just to the several colonies."¹ These gentlemen, nevertheless, declined officially to recognize the Council as the body suited to the elaboration of the details of the proposed federation; they, however, agreed that the individuals constituting it should later convene privately at Melbourne for an informal discussion of the best plan of procedure. From that city they issued a call, in their personal capacity, for a conference the following year.²

The convention was held at Sydney, March 2, 1891. New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania each sent seven delegates; New Zealand, only three. Sir Henry Parkes was chosen president, but before adjournment his cabinet in New South Wales had been overthrown. It was resolved that there should be created a federal administration, consisting of a governor-general, a

¹ For these resolutions in full, cf. "United States Consular Reports," LVIII. 20-21.

² For this session of the Federal Council, "Annual Cyclopædia" (1890), 46; (1891), 59.

responsible ministry, and a legislature of two houses—a senate, in which each colony should have equal membership, and an assembly, in which the apportionment should be according to population; intercolonial free trade, a federal judiciary, and federal defence were generally admitted. Distinct differences of opinion as to the powers to be granted to the Federal Congress and those to be reserved to the states were manifest, and formed the stumbling-block to effective action. The name adopted was “The Commonwealth of Australia,” suggested by the latent aspirations for absolute liberty, and indicative of the disposition to be guided in organic matters by the example of the United States. The outline of a constitution in accord with these general principles was voted. Special meetings in the several colonies were summoned for the ratification of this instrument; and it was provided that in the event of its acceptance by all of them the Federal Council should cease to exist.¹

Partially by reason of indifference, and chiefly because of the hostility of the new government succeeding that of Sir Henry Parkes in New South Wales, there was an almost general failure to act on the document. The inhabitants of Victoria and New South Wales discussed it, but the latter gave it only their qualified assent. On August 1, 1893, on the contrary, the authorities of New Zealand announced their final decision not to participate further in the movement.² This determination was in part due to the pronounced republican tendencies of its promoters; for the New Zealanders, being the most loyal of Britishers, were indisposed to any action which might be construed into a desire to attain independence. Meanwhile, the politicians turned again toward the expedient of strengthening the old Federal Council, while those in favor of the commonwealth idea advocated renewed agitation. In 1893 the Australian Federation League was formed; it proposed during the following year that either

¹ For the deliberations of this convention and the measure adopted by it, “*Annual Cyclopaedia*” (1891), 59-61.

² *Ibid.* (1893), 51.

the several provinces first call local conventions to enunciate the fundamental principles of the projected constitution, and then a general congress, selected by the people of all Australasia, should be convened to elaborate the details; or that a popular assembly should in the first instance prepare a draft *in extenso*, subsequently to be submitted to direct vote.¹

The premiers, in conclave (January, 1895) at Hobart, approved the latter plan, unanimously declaring "that this conference regards federation as the great and pressing question of Australasian politics." It was furthermore resolved:—

"That a convention, consisting of ten representatives of each colony, directly chosen by the electors, be charged with the duty of framing a federal constitution.

"That the constitution so framed be submitted to the electors for acceptance or rejection by direct vote.

"That such constitution, if accepted by the electors of three or more colonies, be transmitted to the queen by an address from the Parliaments of those colonies praying for the necessary legislative enactment."²

In 1896 an enabling act was passed by the legislatures of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Tasmania, and Western Australia,³ and delegates were elected by them on March 4, 1897, although in some cases the recommendations made were not strictly followed. Meanwhile the Federal Council, in 1895, reverting to the proposed constitution of 1891, urged its ratification. A very important popular assemblage, favorable to the project, also took place in 1896, known as the "People's Federal Convention of Bathurst," from the city in which it met.⁴

Another conference of the premiers occurred in March, 1896, at Sydney, at which military and naval defence as well as the Chinese exclusion and quarantine measures were espe-

¹ For the Australian Federation League, "Annual Cyclopædia" (1895), 65.

² For this conference of the premiers, *ibid.* 65; "United States Consular Reports," LVIII, 21.

³ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1896), 57-58.

⁴ "United States Consular Reports," LVIII, 21.

cially canvassed. The debates upon this occasion proved federation more necessary than ever.¹

The last Federal Convention first met at Adelaide on March 22, 1897, and continued there in session until May 5.² The result of its deliberations was the elaboration of a constitution very similar to the old Commonwealth Act of 1891, the changes affecting only minor items. The meeting before the final adoption of this instrument took a recess until September 2 following, when it reassembled at Sydney. In the meantime the various colonial legislatures had passed resolutions expressing their views and criticisms on the suggested enactment, all of which were now presented for consideration. The great questions raised were how to solve any deadlock which might arise between the two Houses of Congress, and the methods of raising and expending the revenues. New South Wales offered the most vital amendments, involving the referendum principle, female suffrage, and proportional representation in the Senate; the other colonies were almost unanimous in their support of the instrument as originally outlined at Adelaide. Queensland had not yet taken part in the discussions, but its recently installed government was kindly disposed to federation; it therefore sent a request to Sydney that action be deferred until delegates might be chosen. Pursuant to this desire a second adjournment was voted until January 20, 1898. This meeting was held at Melbourne; but, although Queensland was prevented by internal political changes from participation, the work of perfecting the constitution was completed. The convention, after a long and exciting struggle, closed its labors on March 17, 1898.

The recently formulated measure³ in its chief provisions resembles that framed in 1891. Both branches of Congress are to be elected by popular suffrage; which right is conferred upon all persons electors in their respective localities. In

¹ For this conference, "Annual Cyclopædia" (1896), 58.

² For the deliberations of this last convention at length, *ibid.* (1897), 59-61; (1898), 60-62.

³ For the text of the proposed Australian Federal Constitution, cf. *Advance sheets "United States Consular Reports,"* 551 (October 12, 1899).

the Senate equal membership and in the House proportional representation is provided. Powers not explicitly granted are reserved to the states. The Upper House cannot originate money bills, but can only recommend them. In the event of an irreconcilable difference between the two bodies both are to be dissolved; if those newly elected fail to agree, they shall sit in joint assembly, when a three-fifths majority shall be required. A uniform tariff is decreed, to be adopted by the new Congress within two years after its first meeting; and it was resolved that the latter should be instructed to enact suitable financial legislation only after a period of five years had elapsed. During this time an endeavor is to be made scientifically to arrive at such a distribution of the national burdens as will be just and equitable to all sections. Matters relating to intercolonial navigation, aliens, immigration, finance, customs, and railways, besides those already mentioned here and in the old project of 1891, were likewise referred. To amend the constitution, an absolute majority of each House of the Congress and the approval of the people of each state are requisite. Finally, it was decided that for its ratification the proposed organic law must receive at least a fixed number of votes in each province: in Victoria, 50,000, and in New South Wales, 80,000, were the minimum.

A violent campaign ensued; the outcome was generally favorable except in New South Wales;¹ there the ballot was 70,990 for and 65,619 against, thus frustrating the possibility of success. Subsequently, the latter's premier proposed a meeting of the Australian prime ministers to consider changes which would, in his judgment, secure the assent of its citizens.² These statesmen, in view of the hearty response which their respective districts had given, hesitated at first to submit to what seemed to be arbitrary conduct; still, any union without the largest and most important state would be an empty pretence. Another conference was eventually held at Melbourne on January 28, 1899, when a compromise on financial details

¹ For the vote in detail, "United States Consular Reports," LVIII, 22.

² "Annual Cyclopædia" (1898), 62; (1899), 65 et seq.

was made, as well as the location of the capital and an easier method of amendment conceded to the dissenting colony; and it was further determined that the necessary enabling acts be at once asked of the local legislatures so that the modified constitution might again be promptly submitted to the people.¹ The preliminaries were generally soon accomplished. New South Wales first voted June 20, 1899, rolling up a majority of more than twenty thousand; Victoria gave its consent before the end of July; Queensland, South Australia, and Tasmania subsequently ratified it; Western Australia will also undoubtedly give its adhesion to the union in due time. In January, 1900, the Australian premiers, again assembled at Sydney, resolved to send a delegation to London to obtain of Parliament the requisite authority to inaugurate the federation. Upon the arrival of the committee in that city some opposition to the measure developed on the part of the British Colonial Office, in that the Australian judiciary and legislative systems were independent of imperial control. The settlement eventually reached and approved by the Crown provides for final appeal to the privy council in every instance when other than Australian interests are concerned, and in all cases where both parties agree; otherwise the Australian authorities are recognized as supreme.

Thus, after an interval of half a century, with the recent appointment of the first Governor-General,² federation has at length been consummated.³ The result will scarcely have a greater influence on Australia than on the world. The fusion of five million people, all sprung from the same racial stock, previously only artificially divided and controlling a continent as large as Europe, cannot fail to be felt in every quarter of the globe.⁴ Of the eleven colonial premiers who assembled at

¹ "United States Consular Reports," LXI, 223 (September, 1899), 106. For the commercial aspect of Australian Federation, cf. same report, which is by George W. Bell, United States Consul at Sydney.

² Lord Hopetoun was in July, 1900, appointed first Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia.

³ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1899), 65 et seq.

⁴ Australian Federation is of such recent consummation that the best discussions of it as an entirety are as yet found only in periodical literature. The

London upon the occasion of the diamond jubilee of Queen Victoria to express their allegiance, seven represented Australian dependencies — a fact well calculated to attest the significance of the latter to the empire.¹

following articles may be profitably consulted. T. Brassey, "Australian Federation" (*Nineteenth Century*, Vol. XLV, 548); E. N. C. Braddon, "Federation Movement in Australia" (*Nineteenth Century*, Vol. XL, 156); J. W. Russell, "Australian Federation; some Constitutional Comparisons" (*North American Review*, Vol. CLXVII, 27); also "Statesman's Year Book" for 1900, 328-331; Caldecott, 148.

¹ For further particulars of the Conference of Imperial Federation, cf. "Annual Cyclopaedia" (1897), 366-367; *supra*, II, 115.

CHAPTER XXII

ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN CAPE COLONY AND SOUTH AFRICA

THE scene of the narrative changes: attention must now be directed to Africa; not less abrupt is the transition from regions of peace to those of war, for, as the history of Australia has been practically devoid of sanguinary conflicts, so, on the contrary, the records of the Dark Continent have been constantly characterized by the absence of tranquillity.¹ Cape Colony first fell into the hands of the British in 1795.² Holland had just been conquered by France, and the Dutch colonists of South Africa were determined not to submit to a foreign yoke. The establishment at that time consisted of four provinces, in all of which rebellion broke out against the newly appointed French officials; in two of the remoter districts the insurgents, being successful, set up an independent republic.

The English had long coveted the important naval station of Cape Town, then most valuable to any state, but more especially to their nation because of its vast Eastern domains. Care for the interests of the exiled Prince of Orange,³ hostility to France, and the existence of civil dissensions at last afforded England plausible reasons for interference; her fleet

¹ As the result of the universal interest which the British-Boer War has evoked, a large number of works reviewing the history, the politics, and the present condition of South Africa have recently been issued; many are more or less elaborate. The author does not feel it incumbent upon himself in this chapter to employ any of them for the purpose of reference. The reader will find upon examination that almost all necessarily agree in the main outlines of history.

² For a brief account of South African history before the English occupation, cf. Worsfold, "South Africa," Ch. I.

³ Martens et Cussy, "Recueil de Traités," III, 32; Payne, 187.

having effected the capture, on September 16, 1795,¹ a protectorate in the name of the deposed ruler was declared. This occupation lasted seven years, until 1802, when, by the Treaty of Amiens, this possession was restored to the Dutch authorities; but in the struggle which again soon commenced between England and France, Holland sided with the latter. Acting now for their own account, the English promptly despatched a squadron, which seized the Cape on January 8, 1806; and subsequently, at the Peace of 1815,² it was formally ceded them upon the payment of £6,000,000 (\$30,000,000) to Holland.³

How Van Riebeck had,⁴ in 1650, induced his government to locate an agricultural colony at this point, how it came to mark a stage in the long voyage to the Orient, and how ships belonging to the Netherlands touched here to take provisions before proceeding farther, are facts readily recalled. What peculiar methods the Dutch followed in the creation of this outpost; how they allotted a certain quantity of land to each immigrant; how they opposed the development of towns and cities; how they forbade the colonists to trade with the natives or with foreigners; how they proclaimed that vessels under other flags should not stop at the Cape; and how generally the community was restricted in its growth and kept in a primitive condition, — all these circumstances should not be forgotten.⁵ Under the Dutch East India Company's sway, civil rights and privileges were unknown, while farming was the sole employment of the inhabitants. In respect to that one pursuit this settlement might be compared to the earlier English provinces of Virginia and Maryland, if these could be imagined bereft of political activities and without wealth.

Perhaps of all the establishments founded in the modern era by voluntary emigration, the poverty of Cape Colony was the

¹ Heeren, 344 (par. 53 note).

² The treaty ceding the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, and Essequibo to Great Britain was in fact signed August 13, 1814.

³ "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 183-184.

⁴ Lucas, "Historical Geography of British Colonies," IV, 35.

⁵ *Supra*, I, 320; Worsfold, "South Africa."

most marked.¹ The majority of the people were, in the first instance, attracted from home not less by the reputation of its climate² than by the magnificent offers of gratuitous tracts; but notwithstanding its salubrity and this apparent largess, many drawbacks to prosperity existed. The land system itself was one of them, for in the distribution of its bounty the practice of the company was well fixed. Every individual was allowed a piece of ground one hour's walking distance in length and breadth; he might select it in any unoccupied locality, but he obtained the absolute title to only one hundred and twenty acres, his interest in the remainder being limited to possession. Under this arrangement the dwelling and chief improvements were naturally erected by the settler on the portion deeded to him; elsewhere he sought merely temporary results, for from that part he might at any time be ejected. Scattered houses surrounded with little gardens consequently sprang up at more or less regular intervals, separated by wider stretches of untilled soil; the fields under cultivation thus constituted small isolated farms. For extension there was not any opportunity, since these "loan places"—so called because the greater part of them was simply loaned—usually abutted on other similar grants; and even where there was an intervening space the Boer could not secure it, the invincible rule of the Company being never to increase its original gift, but rather to reserve the undistributed property for late comers.³

Happily the Dutch peasants were, as they still are to-day, in worldly affairs contented, easy-going, and taking no heed for the morrow. Their economy is proverbial. Hence life at the Cape satisfied them. By the official regulations deprived of trade with others, their sole necessity was to provide for themselves; in this they were fairly successful; while

¹ Payne, 185-187.

² "It [the Cape] enjoys a climate which may, perhaps, be called without exaggeration the most salubrious known; that is, the most adapted to the human constitution in general, without distinction of race, and one of the most delightful."—MERIVALE, 116.

³ Merivale, 118 (and note); Payne, 186; for the land system after the arrival of the English, Leroy-Beaulieu, 612.

there rarely was any superabundance, on the other hand there was seldom want. The Boers, with the habitual sagacity of their race, quickly perceiving the value of slaves,¹ and the relief from toil which they would afford, were not slow to bring them from Java and the West African coasts to the north of their own settlements. Slavery was thus the first source of ease; but this form of labor in Cape Colony did not prove as potent an aid to the acquisition of wealth as elsewhere. The plantations were too contracted to be profitably worked, and, moreover, the markets for such articles as might have been grown were lacking. The Dutch were devoted to the raising of spices and other tropical products;² they disdained the more familiar crops of the temperate zones, such as thrive in the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope. Even the sheep-breeding industry, with its fortunes in wool, was neglected as unworthy of attention by the masters of the Moluccas.³ Under these conditions the introduction of negroes was a double curse; for beyond the light service exacted of them on the farms, their time was passed in idleness, dissipation, and the corruption of others. The only visible benefit accruing to the owner was the possibility of living at Cape Town. This place, fortified by the Dutch government in 1652, had since then been a strong military post and the residence of the ruling class, but it was without business except for its local needs and for the supply of such ships as might touch there.⁴

Politics being forbidden, the people adopted religion as an essential feature of their conduct,⁵ a characteristic which still marks their descendants;⁶ to this long epoch of tranquil

¹ Slaves were first introduced in 1658; for the effects of this policy, cf. Bryce, "Impressions of South Africa," 104.

² *Supra*, I, Ch. VIII.

³ As soon as the English occupied the Cape they began to promote the wool industry, which, next after gold and diamonds, forms the chief export. For early statistics of its growth, cf. McCulloch, "Commercial Dictionary," article "Wool." For later figures, "Statesman's Year Book."

⁴ Rosscher and Jannasch note the importance of the Cape as a station in the East Indian trade, "Colonies and Colonial Policy," 11.

⁵ Cf. Bryce, "Impressions of South Africa," 421; Lucas, IV, 110.

⁶ Dilke, "Problems of Greater Britain," 537.

reflection the ardor, almost fanaticism, of the South African Boers is undoubtedly attributable. The colonization of the Cape by the Dutch thus exhibited several striking peculiarities. Contemplating the environments of their existence, it is not surprising that the inhabitants kept poor, nor that when, after one hundred and fifty years of such rule, the English conquered this colony they found it in the stage of an undeveloped organism.

Great Britain, in 1815, assumed definite possession; the population then numbered barely 10,000 whites; the remaining 80,000 individuals consisted of Hottentots, Malays, negroes from the North, and Kaffirs—a heterogeneous mixture of many distinct tribes. Among the former the few colonists of French descent, sprung from the Calvinist exiles¹ of the seventeenth century, deserve mention; for this small factor had always constituted the enlightened and progressive section of the community. The task of controlling all these divergent elements was infinitely more formidable than the labor had been, or was to be in Canada, where, in fact, only French sympathies required special consideration; in the last-named region there was also the advantage of proximity to the United States,—the greatest offshoot of the Anglo-Saxon race,—a land whence England had drawn not only men, but ideas. With South Africa it was different: the establishment had been isolated; the nearest dependency of any other nation was far distant; it was surrounded by heathens of most ferocious type; the influence of England was null; even her vessels had, during the Dutch Company's régime, not been allowed to approach the harbor.² The earlier occupation of the Cape could therefore have only a military significance; it was simply a naval station held by force of arms.

After its recapture by the British, in 1806, the situation changed; they then soon realized that the long-desired oppor-

¹ They were French Huguenots who had left France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Leroy-Beaulieu, 610. To them the introduction of the vine is due.

² *Supra*, I, 320.

tunity permanently to retain this important outpost had arisen. St. Helena had previously served as their maritime base in these waters; the Cape, by its location on the direct route to India and Australia, was indisputably more convenient. But English statesmen, eager to retrieve their misfortunes of the past century in colonization, perceived something vastly more valuable in this acquisition than a mere coaling port; they saw in it rather the open gateway to all the neighboring realms of Africa. Its remoteness, the aridity of its soil,¹ the mediocre results achieved by the Dutch, the conglomerate mixture of its people, and the inevitable difficulty of their fusion, amalgamation, or subjugation, whichever it might be, did not cause them to falter in their determination to plant there another stronghold of English life and activity.

England applied to the undertaking her customary methods, seconded by her old-time energy and zeal. The first step, as her theorists believed, in the Anglicization of the colony was the introduction of a large number of Englishmen. Already, in 1814, before the final cession of the territory had been confirmed by the Treaty of 1815, public subscriptions were being collected to assist in this movement.² Nevertheless, the stream of population would not flow as desired. Among all the greater dependencies, originally to secure residents for South Africa was the most troublesome. Disinclination to live among the Dutch, the apparent absence of prospective prosperity, and the dread of the Kaffir tribes were the principal causes which deterred popular coöperation; the lack of political rights and the imperfect land system also contributed to the national indifference. Canada and even Australia were more highly favored by voluntary colonists; finally, the authorities made an organized effort to inaugurate an English community in this vicinity. In 1818-1819, after a struggle, troops had entered the domains of the Kaffirs to the east of Cape Colony proper, driving the former inhabitants before them. It was decided to obtain settlers for this newly acquired region; the sum of \$250,000 was voted by Parliament as a transportation fund;

¹ Merivale, 117-118.

² Leroy-Beaulieu, 610.

5000 immigrants were enlisted, and a site on Algoa Bay, near Port Elizabeth, was selected. In 1820 the colony was established.¹ One hundred acres in fee simple were allotted to each person, and supplies were furnished by the government until crops could be grown. Prior to 1835, when military rule ceased at the Cape, this district was, in its administration, subject to the latter, but at the last-named date was constituted a separate division, known as the Eastern Province.

Matters assumed a very similar aspect in South Africa as in Canada; the English, grouped together in one section, while attaining a higher degree of success, were by far more contented than their neighbors of foreign blood. The Western Province, although it gradually developed and in time received a considerable admixture of Englishmen, for a long period remained inferior to its younger competitor in progress and enterprise; to-day Port Elizabeth is still one of the chief commercial towns. After its foundation the British cabinet persisted in the endeavor to encourage immigration. When every exertion in England proved unavailing, appeal was made to the continent; in the governorship of Sir George Grey (1838) a German bureau of promotion sent out 4000 individuals, who, by reason of their nationality, added only another element to the population. Again, after the Crimean War, strenuous attempts were put forth to persuade soldiers from the foreign contingent to settle at the Cape; many, indeed, charmed by the remarkable inducements offered, went thither, but few stayed.² Growth in the first half of the nineteenth century was therefore slow; in 1856 the total number of inhabitants of the colony was estimated to be 270,000 persons, of whom 150,000 were whites and 120,000 of color.

The course of domestic events was equally unfavorable to increased prosperity. The antipathy³ between the English invaders and the Dutch was in the earlier times intense; as well known even to this day, their mutual ill-will is considerable, and frequently, inflamed by slight differences of opinion,

¹ Lucas, IV, 132; Payne, 189-190.

² Leroy-Beaulieu, 610-611.

³ Lucas, IV, 132.

bursts into open hostilities. At the very outset the Boers, tenacious as they always have been of their religious beliefs, local institutions, ancient customs, and national proclivities, disliked the violent usurpation of power over them. Two of the first acts of the British served further to augment their anger.

In 1807 the Wilberforce Bill for the abolition of the slave trade, passing Parliament, became a law.¹ The Cape, the welfare of which was supposed to depend on this traffic, was at once affected. The prohibition of dealing in human flesh incensed the Boers,² who, habituated to all its worst phases, could not appreciate its atrocities; in its repudiation they saw only the loss of their own profits. The second provocation arose from the attitude of the whites to the Kaffirs, which latter race in Cape Colony immediately recalls the Arabs in Algeria. A sturdy, fierce, warlike, indomitable people, they never readily submitted to foreign control. For many years prior to the arrival of the English, the Dutch, fighting them for self-preservation, had learned to hate them and to exercise toward them the utmost rigor and cruelty. Englishmen, when they came, undertook to introduce some principles of kindness in the treatment of these tribes; efforts were also made to alleviate the condition of the despised Hottentots, many of whom were held in harsh bonds of slavery.³ These innovations on the part of their new masters were viewed by the Boers as infringements of their established rights; so in 1815 they rebelled. This episode was soon ended, but the situation did not materially change.⁴

Laws, injunctions, and punishments only imperceptibly modified deep-seated prejudices. As the English entered the territory the Dutch withdrew farther and farther into the interior; they preferred to take their chances with the savages than to live peaceably with their conquerors. Many of the

¹ Walpole, "History of England," VI, 332. The Wilberforce Bill was not passed until 1807, although the matter was under discussion throughout 1806; Hansard (First Series), VII, 508, 580-603; VIII, 257-259, 563-564, 717; IX, 113-140; also, "Annual Register" (1807), Ch. VII.

² Leroy-Beaulieu, 611.

³ R. and J. 206.

⁴ Bryce, 112-113; Payne, 188.

Boers were large stock breeders; those of them residing along the frontiers were in constant strife with the Kaffirs, who so frequently stole their cattle that it became the practice to shoot these robbers on sight, when overtaken in the act. The English tried in vain to propagate law and order, not merely to prevent these lynchings, but also to obviate the more intolerable outrages committed for the purpose of revenge. The only result was a violent strain in the relations existing between the two white elements. The Boers regarded the extermination of the Kaffirs as a sacred task,¹ in the execution of which the British most irreligiously and incomprehensively interfered. The latter looked upon the matter differently. The excesses of the Boers aroused the animosity of the Kaffirs against the entire body of whites, for in those days they confounded the individuals of Dutch and English blood; all the inhabitants of Cape Colony were thus exposed to the vengeance which they might, and did at times, seek. With the natives the English had many occasions to fight; but, when at peace, they believed in trying to civilize them. The Boers considered this theory farcical.

The blow inflicted upon the Dutch element in the suppression of the slave trade was redoubled by the absolute abrogation of slavery, in 1834.² The Boers deemed this event the final straw to their burdens. Thousands of them, with their habitual faith in the guiding hand of divine Providence, resolved to escape from the land of oppression.³ They therefore organized themselves into several loosely associated bands, and, abandoning their homes, migrated with their families and possessions beyond the Orange River; subsequently, turning eastward, they settled in the adjacent district; here again, as will appear, they were destined not to retain their freedom; from them, together with the few earlier occupants of that region, was nevertheless to develop the British colony of Natal.⁴

¹ Payne, 189.

² 3 and 4 William IV, Ch. 73, sec. 12; 6 and 7 Vict. Ch. 98, sec. 2; "Annual Register" (1833), 188-205.

³ Lucas, IV, 195; Bryce, 114-118.

⁴ Bryce, 118 et seq.

Beyond this point it is scarcely necessary separately to trace the influence of the Boers on the domestic affairs of Cape Colony; in their efforts to flee from British sovereignty they constituted for many years an uninterrupted current of emigration toward the north; there, through their assiduity, many new communities were formed, some of which, such as the Orange Free State, attained complete autonomy; on the other hand, the English power invariably closely followed them, and even before 1900 had, for the most part, ultimately succeeded in reincorporating their establishments into the British domain. The sturdy Boers were able only in some places, by the stoutest resistance, to beat back British aggression.

With the Kaffirs the English were, in spite of their manifestations of humanity, engaged in numerous struggles; five times war was waged against them: first in 1811, then in 1819, in 1835, — a bitter contest, in which even Cape Town suffered, — in 1846-1848, and, finally, in 1850-1853. In the last conflict the British troops sustained heavy losses and the victory was with difficulty won.¹

While these events were transpiring, others of more vital importance were occurring in the evolution of the colony. At the close of the Kaffir troubles of 1835, and just after the first removal of the Boers, the military rule which had existed for thirty years was replaced by a civil governor, assisted by an executive and a legislative council. One of the chief obstacles to growth had been the absence of political rights and privileges; as soon, then, as the new administration had been installed, the colonists did not hesitate to pray for other concessions. The arrivals from England and the withdrawal of a considerable portion of the Dutch element were increasing the popularity of English opinions; the Boers, too, who remained were of the less radical type, disposed, by custom, to support European institutions; so, in 1841, a petition for representative government was sent to the colonial office; it did not, however, receive attention.²

¹ Worsfold, Ch. II.

² Cotton and Payne, 109; Payne, 190.

The British cabinet decided, in 1849, to substitute the Cape in lieu of Australia as a penal settlement; but the first transport which conveyed criminals thither being met by the citizens of Cape Town in arms, carried its passengers back to England.¹ This incident, and the dread of its more successful repetition, aroused the people to renew with greater vigor their demands for a higher degree of liberty; finally the Crown yielded, and the governor was, in 1850, instructed to call a constitutional convention. A project providing for a legislature of two houses, elected by property holders, was adopted; but those in authority were still independent of it. A larger measure of freedom was not obtained for nearly twenty years; in spite of the local Parliament, which first met in 1854, the British colonial secretary was supreme.² Meanwhile the condition of the colony stagnated; prosperity never appeared and trade languished; in 1870 the population did not exceed five hundred thousand inhabitants of all races. When the Suez Canal was opened it was thought that the consequent diversion of both naval and commercial interests would be fatal to these communities.³

Two counteracting occurrences nevertheless happened just at this time, the one casual, the other indirectly connected with the canal. The latter must be mentioned first. The Cape, it was considered, would henceforth be of less value than formerly to England. In the past its defences had annually cost the treasury \$1,500,000; now some escape from this expense was sought. The colonists seized the opportunity, negotiating to assume the care of their own fortifications in exchange for the grant of responsible government. They were in the end triumphant, for in 1874 a constitution similar to those of Canada and the Australias was conceded them; since that epoch they have enjoyed local administration by a cabinet amenable to the lower house of the legislature.⁴ The second memorable event of 1870 was the

¹ "Annual Register" (1849), 371.

² Cotton and Payne, 110; Leroy-Beaulieu, 612.

³ Payne, 190-191.

⁴ "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 182-183.

announcement of the discovery of diamonds in South Africa;¹ as a matter of fact, their existence, known to a few individuals since 1867, had been kept secret for three years, but the unaccountably great supply of these precious stones had excited suspicions, which were soon confirmed. Then Englishmen at once flocked to the region of the Orange Republic, where the fields were located. Considerable disorder ensuing, the Crown, under the pretext of regulating the unruly elements, intervened, surveyed the district, and organized it into a separate colony, known as Griqualand West;² eventually, in 1877, incorporated into Cape Colony. These two fortunate circumstances thwarted impending disaster.

The liberation of the Cape from the control of the Colonial Office placed it on an equality with the British dependencies in Canada and Australia; while the newly found riches afforded it a positive advantage. South Africa, then the central point of attraction for vast numbers of Englishmen and other Europeans, at last experienced, after a long, weary struggle, an era of well being, which was to be rapidly augmented. But the country was not yet free from the scourge of war; for, as soon as the British realized that wealth here abounded, they sought every excuse to extend their domain. Their energies were chiefly directed at first against their old foes, the Amaxosa-Kaffirs. Twenty years previously, these people having been pushed back into the interior farther than their real frontier line, the Fingoes, their despised and perpetual enemies, had been settled in the vacant territory. In 1877 the Kaffirs undertook to expel the occupants and regain possession; the Cape government, perceiving that the issue was turning against the latter, lent them aid, and thus the Amaxosa-Kaffirs were disastrously repulsed; their entire land was then declared annexed.³ Peace did not long reign. The friction between the officials of the Cape and Cetewayo, king of the Zulu Kaffirs, in 1878 came to a crisis; and in the

¹ Worsfold, 45 et seq.; "Annual Register" (1872), 148.

² "Annual Register" (1876), 109.

³ For this conflict, "Annual Cyclopædia" (1877), 85-87; (1878), 81-82.

following January hostilities actually commenced. At the very outset, on January 12, the British suffered a severe reverse at Isandlana, when one entire convoy train, consisting of five to six hundred men, was totally destroyed, the material losses of ammunition and other stores being immense. This calamity occasioned the immediate reënforcement of the English troops, so that finally, after more fighting, the rebel chieftain, deserted by his own adherents, was, on August 28, captured. Tranquillity being restored, Cetewayo was first taken prisoner to England, but ultimately, in 1883, reinstated over a part of his former dominions. During his absence the British had set up several rival potentates in other portions of his kingdom, who, on his return, confederated against him. Civil dissensions among the natives raged for some months, until at length Cetewayo was obliged to take refuge in the English colony of Natal, where in 1884 he died.¹

About a year after the conclusion of the Zulu troubles, a still more serious contest broke out in December, 1880, with the Boers of the Transvaal. The details of this conflict will be noted in a subsequent paragraph; suffice it here to say that, the British forces being defeated, the Boers recovered their independence, of which they had been divested in 1877.²

While this war was being waged by English soldiers, the local authorities were involved on their own account in a most unjustifiable, ungrateful, and, as the event proved, futile strife. The Basutos were a small, peaceful, toiling, agricultural tribe, dwelling between the frontiers of Cape Colony and the Orange Free State; they were quite well civilized and Christianized. Almost the only ancient custom they preserved was that of purchasing some kind of firearms as soon as they had sufficient means; these had never been used against the British, but, on the contrary, had only lately rendered them aid in their struggle with the Zulus. The

¹ For the war with Cetewayo, cf. "History of the Zulu War," by Miss Colenso; "British Africa" (British Empire Series), chapter entitled "Zululand," by same author; also, "Annual Register" (1879), "Annual Cyclopædia" (1878), 82-83; (1879), 121-128; (1882), 85; (1883), 91-92.

² *Post*, 186 et seq.

English inhabitants at the Cape, having, as the result of recent occurrences, lost confidence in all the natives, had decided that the Basutos must surrender their weapons. They made this demand on them thinking that they would at once comply; much astonishment was therefore felt when, with a few exceptions, they refused. An organized expedition of 10,000 colonists entered their country; the enemy, fleeing, avoided an engagement; disease attacked the colonial troops and, after a few months' campaign, necessitating the expenditure of \$20,000,000, the survivors were withdrawn. The Treaty of 1881 still left the Basutos in control of their firearms; finally, the Cape Parliament, in 1883, approved the abandonment of the claims over Basutoland, whereupon the British Colonial Office erected it into a separate establishment.¹

The next locality of British activity was in Bechuanaland,² an interior region lying north of Cape Colony proper and west of the Transvaal. In 1884 a part of this district was constituted a Crown colony, and a protectorate over the remaining independent portion declared; in 1895 the former was incorporated with Cape Colony.³ At the present time, besides British Bechuanaland, Kaffraria (1865), Tembuland, East Griqualand, West Griqualand, the Transkeian territory, Walvisch Bay, and Pondoland have been annexed and included within the last-named dependency. Since the conflict of 1880-1881 with the Transvaal and the creation of the Crown colony of Bechuanaland, in 1884, Cape Colony has enjoyed nearly absolute peace; for it must not be forgotten that all the wars of South Africa waged during the ten years prior to 1899 were under the auspices or management of the South Africa Company,⁴ an organization chartered in 1889. The Cape during this period has experienced its greatest development. In 1869 the area of the colony was 192,834 square miles, with 496,381 inhabit-

¹ For the war with the Basutos and subsequent events, "Annual Cyclopædia" (1881), 85-86; (1882), 84-85; (1883), 89-91.

² Cf. Stanford, "Compendium of Geography," II; "Africa," by A. H. Keane, Ch. VIII; also, "British Africa" (British Empire Series), chapter entitled "Bechuanaland," by Sir Sidney G. A. Shippard.

³ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1895), 110.

⁴ *Post*, 191 et seq.

ants; in 1880 there were 200,345 square miles, with 780,757 people; in 1891, 221,311 square miles and 1,389,053 residents; in 1898, 292,000 square miles and 1,821,550 individuals. Of the actual population 331,950 are Afrikanders (whites born in Africa), 38,497 British born, 6540 Germans, 13,907 Malays, and the remainder Hottentots, Fingoes, Kaffirs, and other native or mixed races. Cape Town, the capital city, now has 83,718 inhabitants.¹

Before the conquest of the Cape by the English its chief products were corn, wine, and cattle; indeed, in the days of the Dutch the Boers were known according to occupation, as "Wine Boers," "Cattle Boers," and "Corn Boers." One of the very first acts of Parliament, after this acquisition had been made, was the passage of a measure favorable to its wine.² The old-time articles still rank among the principal staples. In 1898 there were grown nearly 2,000,000 bushels of wheat, 2,000,000 bushels of mealies, and 900,000 bushels of barley, not to speak of oats, rye, and corn; likewise 4,000,000 pounds of tobacco, 4,860,000 gallons of wine, 1,400,000 gallons of brandy, and 2,500,000 pounds of raisins; 1,200,000 head of cattle, 382,000 horses, 85,000 mules, 12,600,000 sheep, 5,000,000 goats (mostly Angora), and 267,000 ostriches were reported; of wool alone 39,000,000 pounds were produced. Commercial progress is indicated by the following table:—

	1879	1891	1898
Imports	£7,664,000	£7,518,437	£16,682,438 ³
Exports	4,068,000	10,994,970	25,318,701
Total Trade	11,732,000	18,513,407	42,001,139

¹ For an excellent recent history of the Cape, cf. "British Africa" (British Empire Series), chapter entitled "The Cape of Good Hope," by Hon. Sir David Tennant.

² "In 1813 these wines were admitted at the payment of one-third the duty then charged on the produce of Spain and Portugal."—MERIVALE, 118; *supra*, II, 169, note 1.

³ Year ending June 30, 1899.

Of the exports in 1898, £15,394,442 represented the value of gold shipped, and more than one-half of the balance was for diamonds. The total colonial revenue for the year ending June 30, 1898, was £7,212,225; the expenditures were, on the other hand, £8,431,398. The debt on January 1, 1899, amounted to £28,383,922. In the matter of railways considerable advancement has been achieved; at the end of 1878, 663 miles were in operation; at the close of 1890, 2060; and on December 31, 1898, 2698 miles. The telegraph lines open in 1898 measured 7224 miles, with 18,000 miles of wire.¹

The affairs of Cape Colony are at present administered by a governor, who is at the same time High Commissioner for South Africa, a responsible ministry of five members, and a legislature composed of two houses—the Upper Branch, or Legislative Council, elected for seven years, and the House of Assembly, chosen for five.² All male citizens able to write their own names, addresses, and occupations, and having a residence worth £75 or an annual income of £50, are voters. The governor in his capacity as High Commissioner for South Africa and Governor-General of all these possessions, is charged with the care of British interests throughout the region, notwithstanding not any formal federation exists for the districts already mentioned as included under the direction of the Cape, and although the second most important settlement, Natal, is a separate dependency.³

The recent good fortune of Cape Colony is not nearly so much owing to the development of its domestic resources as to the progress made in other territories, both British and independent, beyond its frontiers. Chief among these must be noticed the Transvaal, formerly known as the South African Republic, the late Orange Free State, and the British colony

¹ For further statistics, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 184-190; "Annual Cyclopædia," 1899; for bibliography, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 190.

² Bryce, 407; Cotton and Payne, 151; "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 182-183.

³ For the local administrative organization, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 182-183.

of Natal, as well as those vast realms in the interior to the north which have been gradually opened during the past ten years by the operations of the South Africa Company.¹ The German settlements on the southwest coast and the Portuguese domains on the east have likewise exerted a certain influence. Take foreign commerce, for example; almost all the gold and diamonds shipped to Europe have been brought down from the hills, and they alone compose more than three-fourths of the exports. To the mineral and metallurgical discoveries made in these localities the greater proportion of prosperity is due. It may therefore be safely said that, while the Cape may temporarily remain the centre of South African interests as being the gateway through which the larger part of this trade must pass, still the true sphere of future colonization and growth will be farther inland. If the Cape keeps in touch with its neighbors it may long thrive and flourish; but its very welfare will depend upon the maintenance of these relations, and will possibly some day be seriously affected by the creation of another port more convenient to the sources of wealth. Much will be decided by the extension of the railway system ultimately to be constructed. It has already once been seen how the threatened rivalry of a new competitor on Delagoa Bay incited the colonial authorities to increase their own transportation facilities; the time may come, however, when the natural situation of some harbor yet to be improved will outweigh all the advantages of land communication which Cape Town can offer. That event is probably somewhat distant, and under any circumstances the present metropolis is always destined to continue a leading distributing point.

The only other fully organized British colony in South Africa prior to 1900 was Natal. In 1824 this district was visited by an English naval officer, who raised the British flag.² Finally, in 1836-1837, a small settlement was formed. The main emigration of the Boers from the Cape did not occur until 1838, when, as elsewhere stated, considerable numbers of

¹ *Post*, 191.

² *Lucas*, IV, 192.

these people, because of dissatisfaction with their governors, abandoning their old homes, wandered northeasterly along the Orange River. Encamping on the site of Pietermaritzburg, they soon set up the Republic of Natal.¹ But their sojourn here was of short duration; for in 1843 the British, proclaiming this region to be included under their jurisdiction, inaugurated, after a slight resistance, their own rule. Although the more sturdy of the Boers, following the leadership of Pretorius, again migrated farther to the northward, a few Dutch remained, who, together with the new English arrivals, served as the nucleus of the nascent community. From 1845 to 1848 Natal was governed as a dependency of Cape Colony. In 1856 it was erected into a separate establishment, under a lieutenant-governor, and after the modification of the charter of 1875 the powers of the local administration were still more broadened, a governor as well as an executive and a legislative council being then instituted.² Subsequently, in 1893, responsible government³ was in effect granted, the governor, however, retaining a right of veto more extensive than usual.⁴

The course of events in Natal during the past forty years has been very similar to the record at the Cape; in the hostilities with the Zulu Kaffirs and with the Transvaal, by reason of its proximity, it has naturally suffered the most. In 1887 about two-thirds of the former Zulu territory, held to be neutral since the war, was declared British, and was in part incorporated into this colony.⁵ The residents are chiefly devoted to agriculture, sugar and tea being mostly produced, as well as corn and other cereals. Coal is also mined. The growth of Natal is indicated by the following figures: in 1859 it had 106,200 inhabitants, of whom 100,000 were Kaffirs; in 1870

¹ Lucas, IV, 195 et seq.

² Cotton and Payne, 151.

³ Bryce, 407; Dilke, 311; "Annual Register" (1893), 440; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1893), 122; (1894), 102.

⁴ For a very brief history of Natal, cf. Payne, 191-193; more extensively, "British Africa," chapter entitled "Natal," by F. R. Stratham; also R. Russell, "Natal, the Land and its Story" (Pietermaritzburg, 1897); for the details of the present administrative organization and bibliography, cf. Natal, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 204 et seq., 207-208.

⁵ Annual Cyclopædia" (1887), 92-93; (1888), 125-126.

the number was 193,000; in 1880, 364,338; in 1891, 543,913; in 1898, 902,365. Of the population, 53,688 are whites, 61,103 East Indians, and 787,574 Kaffirs. The Indians are coolies, who have been imported under contract for the plantations. The area is 34,019 square miles. The finances of the colony for the year ending June 30, 1898, showed revenue, £1,964,315 and expenditures, £1,812,318; the public debt was £8,019,143. The total imports by sea were valued at £5,323,216 and the exports at £1,246,000.¹

With the close of the story of Natal the account of the British dependencies enjoying responsible government is concluded; Canada, the Australias, and the two colonies in South Africa complete the list. The next regular topic should be the series of possessions under a representative form of administration; but before describing them a slight digression must be made. For the sake of presenting a clear view of the situation and conditions of English power in South Africa, it will be better, first, briefly to glance at the other British and non-British domains in this vicinity. Events in the Transvaal and in the Orange Free State are here of interest only as these republics were offshoots of the community at the Cape, its neighbors and states, which England would long ago have fain added to her colonial empire.

The origin of the Orange Free State, like that of Natal, is also connected with the Dutch migration of 1835-1840. Although great numbers of roving Boers first settled within the boundaries of the former, Natal soon seemed more strongly to attract these people, who in throngs turned their eyes and their feet thitherward; but subsequently, after its compulsory annexation by England, many — among them the famous Pretorius and his band — again withdrew to their early place of refuge; there the first occupants, mostly shepherds, had already, in 1836, organized a kind of patriarchal republic. The British, being determined that not any other authority than their own should exist in South Africa, again, in 1848,

¹For further statistics, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 204 et seq.; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1899), 115.

sent a force against the Boers, defeated them, and proclaimed the Orange Free State a part of Cape Colony.¹ Pretorius once more simply took up the march, crossed the river Vaal, and located among the Zulu Kaffirs, thus making the beginning of the Transvaal. Among the twelve thousand Boers who submitted to British rule decided discontent prevailed. While open hostilities did not break out, secret seditions were everywhere rife; this bitterness lasted five years. War with the Kaffirs having commenced, in 1851, and the Boers covertly abetting the enemy, it was thought better policy, in an endeavor to placate them, to give the Orange Free State its liberty; so, in 1854, England, reconstituting this republic, duly acknowledged its independence.² It was, indeed, an unprecedented occurrence in history that a small handful of peasants should wrest their freedom from a powerful nation.

The later annals of the Orange Free State, prior to 1899, were uneventful.³ Friendly relations were generally maintained with Cape Colony, so that even the Boers of this district were once regarded as pro-British in their sentiments. Subsequently, however, by reason of a reaction, a more intimate connection between them and the citizens of the South African Republic was cultivated, the first positive effect of this tendency being seen in the treaty negotiated in 1897, when it was agreed that both would stand together in case of any foreign attack.⁴ Their alliance against England in the war of 1899-1900 was the result of this arrangement. At the same time a federal council of ten members was created for the annual consideration of matters of mutual interest, with the ultimate aim gradually to federate the two countries into one union. The hostilities which have recently closed seem to have forever ruined these plans and hopes; for, by the proclamation of

¹ Lucas, IV, 211.

² By the Bloemfontein Convention of 1854; Lucas, IV, 213 et seq.; Bryce, 133-135. "The people of the Orange afterward petitioned, but without success, to be readmitted to the rights of British citizens." — PAYNE, 193-194.

³ For a brief history of the Orange Free State, cf. Payne, 193; also, article in "Encyclopædia Britannica"; "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 863 et seq.; Brown, "Guide to South Africa"; London, 1897.

⁴ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1897), 118-119; also (1898), 110.

Lord Roberts, issued May 29, 1900, this republic was formally annexed to the British Crown as the Orange River Colony, and a colonial administration has been inaugurated.

The government of the Orange Free State consisted of a president and a legislature of one house of 59 members; the area was 48,326 square miles; the population in 1890 was 77,716 whites and 129,787 natives, total, 207,503 inhabitants; of late years there has been considerable immigration from Germany, Holland, and England. In 1898 the revenues were £799,758 and the expenditures, £956,752; the debt was £30,000, but the assets on hand were valued at £496,000. Originally an agricultural community, the mineral deposits as soon as discovered assisted greatly in the development of this region. Coal, diamonds, and gold were found within its borders; in 1898 diamonds to the sum of £1,508,661 were produced. The exports in that year amounted to £1,923,425 and the imports to £1,190,932.¹

The most sturdy and dangerous neighbor of England was, until lately, the South African Republic, formerly called the Transvaal. Springing from the heroic little band of individuals, self-exiled from the Cape for the sake of principle, who so faithfully followed Pretorius in his migrations, the Boers were from the first tried by hardship. After their removal into the heart of Zululand they lived many years by hunting and farming, almost isolated and not exciting any special attention. The British always believed when the proper moment came there would not be any difficulty in extending their power over them and incorporating them into the colonial domain; so, temporarily at least, it was decided to leave them free. Independence was, in fact, specifically guaranteed the Boers by the articles of the Sand River Convention of 1852. Prior to 1861 the entire administration of the Republic was vested in a Volksraad, or popular assembly of all the inhabitants, which met four times annually; at the last-mentioned date, when an elective system was introduced,

¹For administrative and statistical details of the Orange Free State, as well as a brief bibliography, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 863-866.

a constitution was adopted, providing for a president and a legislature of one house. Although, owing to constant conflicts with the natives and numerous local disturbances which at one time (1862) precipitated civil strife, the Transvaal enjoyed neither tranquillity nor prosperity, nevertheless the fertility of its soil and the wealth of its natural products were little by little attracting thither numbers of Europeans.

In 1876 an unusually serious uprising of the aborigines occurred, which for once even the Boers had trouble in quelling.¹ Many property interests of British owners being upon this occasion damaged, and more threatened by the impending bankruptcy of the Republic, the English government at once seized the opportunity of intervening. On the plea of misrule and the incapacity of the Boers, the whole country was, in 1877, declared a dependency of Great Britain and forthwith organized as a Crown colony.² The people, then exhausted by reason of their late exertions, on the advice of many of their leading men, momentarily accepted the inevitable. Great discontent nevertheless existed throughout the masses; agitation for the recovery of independence was constantly maintained, and a delegation to protest³ against this usurpation was sent to England, as well as another to the United States to solicit sympathy. Many Englishmen within two or three years deplored the rashness which had actuated the representatives of imperial doctrines in their premature attempt to confederate all South Africa under the British flag. The Boers were ready to submit to a limited suzerainty in foreign relations, but were unwilling to agree to interference in their local affairs. An amicable understanding not being reached, in December, 1880, hostilities began. Paul Kruger, Pretorius the younger, and Joubert were the leaders. The war ended on March 21, 1881, after the most disastrous reverses ever suffered by British arms since the American

¹ "Annual Register" (1877), 80.

² "Annual Register" (1877), 78 et seq.; Hansard (Vol. 233), 770; (Vol. 234), 828, 1947 et seq.; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1877), 721-722.

³ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1876), 748-749.

evolution. The Boer victory at Majuba Hill will long be remembered as a critical point in African history.¹ The terms of the peace treaty conceded everything asked by the Boers, the perpetuation of home rule as well as the recognition of the South African Republic, but included the reservation to England to adjust frontier questions and direct exterior policy.² By a convention signed, in 1884,³ between the two nations, Great Britain yielded a large measure of its control, and the boundaries of the Republic were duly defined. Subsequently, in 1888, the latter was enlarged by the annexation of one-third of the Zulu territories, previously known as the New Republic.⁴ In 1890 a modified constitution instituting an assembly, or second house of the legislature, was voted; again in 1894 and in 1895 it was amended.⁵

After the discovery of the gold fields, in 1882-1884,⁶ the Boers were menaced with the loss of authority in their own state by virtue of the sudden influx of English diggers; hence the adoption of certain restrictions on the political status of foreigners. The counter demands of the British immigrants for an equality of rights and privileges occasioned enormous friction. As the result of this inflamed ill feeling Dr. Jameson and a party of six hundred men, in the employ of the South Africa Company, made, in 1895, an armed invasion of the Republic, aiming to arrive at Johannesburg, the centre of the

¹ For this war, "Annual Cyclopædia" (1880), 81-83; (1881), 86-88; "Annual Register" (1877), 76 et seq.; Bryce, 156-160.

² By the Pretoria Convention, better known as the Convention of 1881; cf. "Annual Cyclopædia" (1881), 88.

³ The Convention of London; for the text in full, cf. Worsfold, 300; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1884), 111-112.

⁴ *Ibid.* (1888), 126.

⁵ Cf. "Annual Cyclopædia" for years mentioned.

⁶ The existence of gold in the Transvaal was reported as early as 1854. The first really profitable fields began to be worked at Lydenburg in 1873. The great discovery in the Witwatersrand was reported shortly after the signing of the London Convention of 1884. The great influx of English miners at once began. The problems and contentions arising in regard to this population were the direct causes of the war between England and the South African Republic which broke out in 1899. There is reason to believe that if the great gold discovery had been made a year earlier the South African Republic would not have received such liberal terms at London in 1884.

mining district, and there foment insurrection. The expedition started December 29, 1895, from Pitsani, Pitlogo, and Mafeking, all places in possession of the Company; but the raiders had scarcely crossed the frontier when a Boer force, meeting them at Krugerdorp, after a brief engagement captured them and took them prisoners to Pretoria. The rising at Johannesburg, not assuming the proportions expected, was soon quelled. The British government afterward disavowed responsibility for these acts of aggression. The rioters were thereupon returned to England and taken to London, where the ringleaders were ultimately tried and punished. This incident served strongly to augment the ancient animosity existing between the Dutch and the English sections of the population.¹

The conflict entered upon a new phase in 1898, when England, inspired by the appeals of her subjects in South Africa, revived her claims of suzerainty,² protesting that the alien law of 1896 as passed by the Volksraad was an infringement of the Treaty of 1884.³ The discussion, as is well known, ended in renewed hostilities. Through the triumph of the British arms and the practical annihilation of the independence of the South African Republic⁴ and its neighbor, the Orange Free State, the supremacy of Great Britain at the Cape is for the future apparently assured. With the absorption of the Transvaal—under the name of the Vaal River Colony—into the body politic of the British colonial domain, the Boers seem destined, as a race, to suffer the loss of their identity and liberties.⁵

¹ For Dr. Jameson's raid and subsequent incidents, Bryce, Ch. XXV; Lucas, IV, 322; "Annual Register" for 1896; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1896), 100-108; (1897), 117.

² "English Parliamentary Papers," Ch. 8721, Mr. Chamberlain to President Kruger, October 16, 1897.

³ For the contentions which led to the recent hostilities, briefly stated, cf. "Annual Cyclopædia" (1897), 114-119; (1898), 105-107; (1899), 115 et seq., 778 et seq.; also a series of articles in the *North American Review* (1899-1900), afterward published in book form entitled, "Britain and the Boers."

⁴ A good history of the Transvaal is to be found in works mentioned in Bibliography.

⁵ The prediction to this effect, as made by Caldecott in his "English Colonization and Empire" (108), now seems probably realized.

The population of the South African Republic was calculated in 1870 to be 120,000 individuals, of whom perhaps 25,000 were whites; in 1880 the latter numbered 40,000 to 45,000 and the natives 775,000; in 1890 the whites counted 119,128 and the others about 600,000; while the census of 1898 showed 345,397 and 748,759 respectively. The present area of the late republic is 119,139 square miles. The first trade statistics available are those for the year 1886, when the dutiable imports amounted to £493,991, while in 1897 they had increased to £13,563,827; but in 1898 they again fell to £10,632,893; it was also stated that at that time an equal amount of merchandise was probably smuggled into the country. The exports in 1886-1889 were variously estimated from £7,000,000 to £8,000,000 in value, not including gold and precious metals; they comprised chiefly wool, cattle, hides, grain, ostrich feathers, and butter. In 1884-1885 the revenue was £161,595 and the expenditure £184,822; in 1887 the figures were £668,433 and £621,073. The debt at the end of 1888 did not exceed £276,000, while there was, on the other hand, £274,130 surplus in bank. The financial statistics¹ for 1890 and 1898 were:—

	1890	1898
Revenue	£1,229,060	£3,398,560
Expenditure	1,531,461	3,971,473
Debt	2,858,695 ²	2,660,394 ³

In September, 1898, the length of railways was 774 miles in operation and 522 projected or partially constructed. Pretoria, the capital, is connected by a direct line with Cape Town, 1040 miles distant.⁴

¹ Drawn from "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 1020-1026.

² June 30, 1892.

³ December 31, 1898.

⁴ For further statistics and administrative organization of the South African Republic as well as bibliography, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 1020-1026; also "Annual Cyclopædia" (1899), 778 et seq.

As the great progress of the South African Republic in recent years, as well as that of the British possessions at the Cape, has been chiefly due to the development of the famous gold mines, some details relative thereto cannot be amiss. Prior to 1889 the total amount of gold exported was placed at £876,890. Other figures are:—

	1888	1892	1898
Number of Mining Companies	100		200
Capital Stock of same	£5,000,000		£57,000,000
Number of whites employed		2,952	9,476
Number of blacks employed		21,619	88,627
Output, annual		£4,541,071	£16,044,135

The production, from the time of first discovery in 1884 to 1898 inclusive, aggregated £69,854,643 in value. The importance of the mining industry to the Republic may be better appreciated when it is recalled that the major part of its revenue was derived from various imposts, duties, licenses, and royalties assessed on the gold fields and their operation. The sum collected from these sources alone, in 1895, reached £1,848,571.¹

In South Africa, as in Canada and Australia, the question of confederation has long been under discussion. Already, in 1871, the subject was being considered and, in 1876, the British officials, together with the presidents of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, united in a conference for the study of the matter.² Although relations with the natives were then such—as they afterward remained for some time—as to urge upon all the white colonists the necessity of closer political association, still not any practical result was attained, because of the desire of England in that event to transform the two republics into British colonies. When this

¹For further discussion of the mineral resources of the Transvaal, cf. Stanford, "Compendium of Geography," II, "Africa."

²"Annual Cyclopædia" (1871), 1; (1876), 8.

end could not be accomplished with their consent, the cabinet of Lord Beaconsfield, bent upon the extension of the English domain, forcibly imposed its authority, in 1877, over the Transvaal, with the intention of subsequently bringing the Orange Free State also under British control. The Zulu wars unexpectedly intervened, and the Boer revolution occurred before the full execution of these plans.¹ Confederation, then farther removed than ever, had, prior to 1899, except for limited purposes, become more and more remote. Delegates from Cape Colony, Natal, and the Orange Free State met in 1888 — the Transvaal being unrepresented — and voted certain measures for the institution of a customs and railway union, in which all four communities should participate.² The Transvaal did not join, and in 1889 Natal temporarily withdrew,³ so that the arrangement was then restricted to the Cape and the Orange Free State. As actually constituted the union includes Cape Colony, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Natal. Beyond this stage federation has never yet extended.

It may now be said that the record of English colonization in South Africa is complete. For the past and for the present the official narrative is closed; but there is still left one more phase of endeavor to be mentioned, an influence rather than effect, a promise for the future rather than achievement for to-day. The labors of the British South Africa Company are meant. This corporation was organized by the government on October 29, 1889, with absolute power in the regions to the north of the Cape over which British sovereignty was exercised, and as far beyond into the interior of Africa as it might succeed in stretching its sway. Civil administration, maintenance of order, banking, railway, commerce, trade, and, generally, legislative and political supremacy in the broadest degree, were conferred by the charter, which, in its terms, greatly resembled that of the old East India Company. The period of its existence was limited to twenty-five years. The

¹ For the South Africa Act of 1887 (40 and 41 Vict. Ch. 47), cf. Tarring, "Law Relating to the Colonies," 125.

² "Annual Cyclopædia" (1888), 124.

³ *Ibid.* (1889), 104.

original district comprised under the jurisdiction of the Company is known as British Zambesi, embracing portions of Bechuanaland, Matabeleland, and the territories of Khama, Lobengula, and the Mashonas. The capital stock of the corporation was five million dollars; its object was to oppose an effective obstacle to any efforts of the South African Republic to enlarge its boundaries.¹

The first result of the inauguration of the Chartered Company of South Africa — for such is its proper name — was the collision with Lobengula, king of the Matabeles, a fierce and warlike tribe. The earliest dispute, in 1890, arose relative to the real rights which the British Crown had acquired over his land, and, consequently, what concessions might be granted to the Company. The Portuguese made counter claims and urged Lobengula to resistance, but an open conflict did not at once occur. While negotiations for a definite treaty were pending, during 1891, in London, fighting² did break out between the forces of the British Company and the Portuguese troops, in which the latter were defeated and taken prisoners. The English, however, not even then pushing matters, agreed to the creation of a neutral zone in Matabeleland and Mashonaland.³ King Lobengula had been assured as early as 1889 by the English authorities, that, while he was advised to allow the Company to operate the mines in his country, it could not act without his permission. The corporation viewed the situation differently and was constantly usurping larger and larger tracts, over which it was asserting exclusive control; its representatives were daily more and more anxious to provoke a quarrel with the natives. On the other hand, Lobengula had given strict instructions that his people should not, under any circumstances, molest the whites.

Finally, in 1893, when the English, under Dr. Jameson, had accumulated sufficient arms and ammunition, they devised a plan for beginning hostilities. Lobengula had, by treaty, left

¹ For the organization of this Company, Lucas, IV, 314; "Annual Register" (1889), 204; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1891), 104-106; (1893), 122-123.

² Lucas, IV, 316.

³ Worsfold, 212.

Mashonaland, a part of his ancestral estates, free to them, having withdrawn all his followers, but engaging that in case of trouble between the Mashonas and the settlers he would, upon the latter's request, furnish warriors to protect them. The English now notified him that the Mashonas had been stealing many of their cattle and asked him to discipline them; whereupon he sent an armed party to punish the offenders; scarcely had the tumult closed when Dr. Jameson ordered his men to leave Mashonaland within an hour. While they were departing, Jameson attacked them in the rear with tremendous slaughter. Explanations were required of Lobengula; and when he despatched messengers for that purpose they were ruthlessly captured and put to death!

Meanwhile, three expeditions were being organized against him, his domains being apportioned in advance to the British soldiers and the auxiliary troops. A desperate war of brief duration ensued, but, as might be expected, the natives were unable, in spite of their heroic actions, to check the advance of the enemy; before the end of 1893 the entire district was in the Company's hands, and Lobengula was dying of fever in the far interior of Africa, whither he had fled.¹ The effects of the conflict, so treacherously designed and unrelentingly waged,² were of vastly greater importance than the mere acquisition of Matabeleland; for this region, although rich in natural wealth, is the more valuable as the connecting link between the British possessions in North and South Africa; with its occupation England may justly claim the ownership of a belt of territory extending from Cairo to the Cape. From both extremities telegraphs and railways are being speedily pushed forward, and it needs not the eye of the prophet to foresee the approaching inauguration of the trans-African trunk line, uniting Cape Town with the Mediterranean.³

¹ For the history of the war with Lobengula, cf. "Annual Cyclopædia" (1891), 105; (1893), 123-126; (1894), 104-106.

² For a view more favorable to the Company's action, cf. Worsfold, 214 et seq.; Lucas, IV, 318 et seq.

³ For the details of the route of this railway and cost, cf. "Annual Cyclopædia" (1899), 124.

Little by little the Company pursued the policy of firmly establishing its supremacy over the more remote tribes, and with so much success that its agents ultimately conceived the idea that it was the accredited instrument destined to consolidate all South Africa under British sovereignty. The high standing and powerful influence of many of its members in England led its representatives in Africa to think that their own proceedings would in any event be approved by the government. This belief, together with the irritation occasioned by the interference of the Boers in local affairs, determined Cecil Rhodes, Dr. Jameson, and Major Forbes to plan the invasion of the South African Republic. It was calculated that, with the assistance of the English miners at Johannesburg, the Boer state might be easily overthrown. How the results failed to correspond to the expectations is well known.¹ After the disavowal of these unjustifiable acts, the British authorities found themselves obliged, by public opinion, to inflict some punishment upon the Company for its misbehavior; the latter's privileges were then considerably modified, while the military and police administration of its realms was directly assumed by the Crown.² The most disastrous consequence of the Jameson raid was the withdrawal of so many soldiers from the Company's possessions; in March, 1896, before the arrival of new forces, a serious rebellion broke out among the Matabeles, which lasted until September, 1897.³ Since then tranquillity has reigned.⁴

The South Africa Company now exercises jurisdiction over South Rhodesia, including Matabeleland and Mashonaland, with a total area of 174,728 square miles, and North Rhodesia, which is about 251,000 square miles in extent. The exact number of natives is unknown; the Europeans amount to 6000 or 7000 persons. Gold, silver, copper, tin, antimony, arsenic, lead, coal, and some other minerals exist. The whole

¹ *Supra*, II, 187 et seq. and notes.

² "Annual Cyclopædia" (1898), 108.

³ *Ibid.* (1896), 110-112; (1897), 197.

⁴ For recent conditions in the domains of the South Africa Company, cf. "Annual Cyclopædia" (1896), 109 et seq.; (1897), 119-120; (1898), 107-108; (1899), 123 et seq.; "Annual Register" for 1900.

region is being rapidly opened to settlement. Lake Tanganyika will soon be connected by rail with Cape Town, 2000 miles distant; 579 miles of railway, costing \$10,000,000, had already been built prior to 1899. It was expected that the length of the line would be increased to 1086 miles during that year. The present capital of the South Africa Company is \$25,000,000, but the expense of recent wars has been a great drain on its resources. The latest insurrection cost \$15,000,000 and the lives of one-tenth of the white population.¹

In 1898 a scheme of colonial government, in conjunction with the Company, was elaborated for South Rhodesia. The High Commissioner is henceforth to be assisted in civil matters by a legislative council, consisting of nine members — five chosen by the Company and four elected by the colonists. A resident commissioner, having command of the British troops, is appointed by the Crown. With this first step toward an organized administration, the English cabinet is preparing to assume immediate control over all Central Africa. The complete retirement of the Company from political affairs may still be deferred many years, but in due course of time the Colonial Office must extend its exclusive power over the communities there being newly created; whenever an adequate measure of local autonomy be given to the inhabitants, a large group will necessarily be added to the family of English colonies.

¹ For further statistical details of South Rhodesia and bibliography, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 213-215.

CHAPTER XXIII

LATER ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN THE WEST INDIES, THE BERMUDAS, MALTA, MAURITIUS, AND CEYLON

IN the orderly resumption of the account of modern English colonization, attention must now be directed to the second division of colonial establishments. According to the classification adopted, this series embraces all those dependencies under the representative form of government. The distinction between the responsibly governed colonies and those about to be described is that in the former both the legislative and the executive authority are in the hands of the colonists, while in the latter legislation is only partially regulated by them, and the administration is entirely intrusted to a governor designated by the Crown, who, in his turn, is advised by a cabinet named at his discretion and not amenable to the legislature. The veto power is also frequently used.¹ This method of rule is, in practice, applied to regions wherein the white element of the population is in the extreme minority; where the liability to race conflicts is great; where civil liberty, with general suffrage, would mean the supremacy of the blacks and the destruction of English interests; or, if the electoral franchise were limited to the whites, would involve hardships and persecution to the non-Europeans, — consequently the Crown, intervening, retains supervision over all departments of affairs.² To this class Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, the Bahamas, British Guiana, the Windward Islands (partially), the Leeward Islands, the Bermudas, and Malta belong.

¹ For a definition of representative government, Caldecott, 137-139; for an illustration of the distinction between responsibly governed colonies and representative colonies, cf. Ireland, "Tropical Colonization," 44-51.

² For a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of this form of government, *ibid.* 63-68.

A glance at the list shows that the majority of these places are in the West Indies. The history of those islands must therefore now be continued from the point where it was suspended at the close of the earlier epoch. How they had become the chief cane producing districts of the world; how the negroes had been introduced as slaves, on the theory that their labor was the cheapest; how the plantations had gradually increased in size; how the sugar industry had become centralized in the grasp of a few rich men; how there had been a constant decrease of the white residents; how England had reserved an exclusive market for their staple; how, on the contrary, the West Indies were required to buy English or colonial wares; how the Navigation Act affected their trade; how the independence of the United States injured them both for purchase and sale; and, finally, how hurricanes and rebellions swept over them,—all these facts are well remembered. How, after a period of unparalleled prosperity at the end of the seventeenth century, these possessions, with the exception of Jamaica, were, from natural causes, already on the decline at the time of the American Revolution is known.¹ Among the West Indies St. Domingo was then the most flourishing; but its career was, as elsewhere recounted, destined to be suddenly terminated by a reign of terror. The study of the course of events in the French Antilles partially explains the crisis in the territories under English rule.²

The first occurrence detrimental to the welfare of these colonies was the enforcement of that clause of the Navigation Act which forbade them to transact business with the United States. Not only an important outlet for their sugar, coffee, and other tropical products was lost, but their requisite supply of provisions was also curtailed. Canada, by reason of her own scarcity, as stated, was unable to respond to their demands; and the consequent prevalence of famine in a few years destroyed the lives of fifteen thousand negroes.³ The

¹ *Supra*, Ch. XVIII.

² *Supra*, I, 389 et seq.

³ *Supra*, II, 59-60; Merivale, 84-85; Leroy-Beaulieu, 192.

next disaster was the outbreak of the French Revolution, followed by the Napoleonic era of wars. In spite of the benefit accruing to these communities by the capture of the French West Indies, and the volcanic upheaval in St. Domingo, still the difficulty of assuring the regular delivery of their commodities at English ports and the uncertainty of the arrival of their own necessities, combined with the general unrest of prolonged conflict, occasioned serious obstacles to the maintenance of their trade. Mauritius, also, one of the great sugar raising islands of the Indian Ocean, had been taken, in 1810, from France;¹ so that from it, as well as from the East Indies, England was soon receiving quantities of sugar.² The competition of the new British acquisitions in itself much more than offset the advantages incidentally resulting from their seizure; nevertheless, hopes were cherished that when the struggle was finished affluence would once more be regained; and so it might have been, had not the English cabinet decided that the interests of humanity were mightier than the economic stability of any one portion of the empire.

The ministers determined, in view of the frightful atrocities in Hayti, that slavery was rather a curse than a blessing to the West Indies; for they feared that with the constantly growing disproportion of the races the blacks would soon be able to secure the upper hand. The planters, while dreading the insurrection of the latter, such as had frequently happened, believed that, with sufficient cruelty, they could be controlled; hence they loudly proclaimed that continued good fortune depended upon the perpetuation of the traffic in negroes and the system of human bondage. But, regardless of their protests, Parliament voted the abolition of the trade in 1807,³ and in 1812 it ceased. Slavery itself was suppressed in 1834,⁴

¹ *Supra*, I, 411-412.

² Payne, 198-199; Caldecott, 93; Merivale, 89, 323-324; Leroy-Beaulieu, 192.

³ Payne, 201.

⁴ For a brief account of the movement which led to the abolition of the slave trade and that measure in Parliament, Walpole, "History of England," 332 et seq.; Martineau, I, 181-185, 201-204; Payne, 199-201; Caldecott, 92-93.

when England paid \$100,000,000 as an indemnity to the former masters.¹ Notwithstanding the undisputed wisdom of these measures, the passage of the first act marked the beginning of the final ruin of the British West Indies; from that time their decadence was rapid.²

The slave trade was necessary to procure an adequate number of field hands. Under the shameful conditions existing in the eighteenth century it was calculated that one out of every fourteen slaves died annually; subsequently the percentage of decrease was somewhat less, but, nevertheless, in Jamaica, Trinidad, Dominica, and elsewhere, except Barbados, the negro population steadily declined.³ Various causes have been specified; ill treatment was the principal factor, but other reasons also contributed to the result. Without entering

For full discussion and text of the acts (46 George III, Ch. 52; 47 George III, Ch. 36), cf. Hansard (First Series), VII, 508, 580-603; VIII, 257-259, 563-564, 717; IX, 113-140; "Annual Register" (1807), Ch. VII; Southey, III, 359 et seq. (note); 387 et seq. (note); 509 (note); *supra*, II, 172.

¹ 3 and 4 William IV, Ch. 73, sec. 12; 6 and 7 Vict. Ch. 98, sec. 2; "Annual Register" (1833), 188-205. The Emancipation Act was passed by Parliament August 28, 1833, and went into effect August 1, 1834. Cf. Ireland, 144; *supra*, II, 173; Martineau, III, 347. The price at which slaves were valued in the various colonies is shown by Merivale, 333.

² *Ibid.* 91, 87.

³ *Supra*, II, 57-58 and notes; Merivale, 87-88; Leroy-Beaulieu, 194-195. The treatment of slaves in the West Indies is a matter of controversy; for an account more favorable to the masters, cf. Ireland, 134-144, who quotes the slave laws of Jamaica "as affording a view of the legal restraints placed upon the planters in their relations with the slaves"; he further cites Mr. Bryan Edwards as to the humane treatment accorded the negroes.

Mr. Southey on the other hand explains at length how laws were unavailing, and fully answers Mr. Edwards, "Chronological History of West Indies," III, 57 et seq. For other West Indian Acts concerning slaves and their treatment, cf. Southey, III, 17-18, 21, 60, 73, 122-124 (note), 131-133 (the slave chain), 144-148, 178, 299-304, 337-362, 385-392, 406, 408-410, 469-473 and notes, 496-510 (extreme cruelty in 1811), 520 note, 610. The excess of deaths over births among the slaves in Jamaica in the seven years next preceding the abolition of the traffic was 41,772. The fact seems to be that England undertook to surround the negroes with every possible safeguard, but that the violation of the statutes by the planters was at times common, and in some places almost general. The obstinacy of the colonial legislatures was the source of greatest evil. For further confirmation of the text, cf. James Stephen, "The Slavery of the British West India Colonies," etc. (London, 1824). Lord Macaulay published an interesting criticism on this work in the *Edinburgh Review* (January, 1825); cf. also his essays, "The West Indies."

into any discussion of these influences, it is enough to record the fact that from the day when this traffic was prohibited the supply of labor in these colonies commenced to lessen.¹

Jamaica especially suffered. A new aspirant was also rising in the immediate neighborhood. Cuba, under Spanish rule, did not develop into importance as a cane growing country until the nineteenth century. Its soil then was virgin.² One after another the islands of the West Indies were destined, after a certain period of prosperity, to be superseded by some rival more lately brought under cultivation. The same story repeated itself; as Jamaica had outstripped Barbados, so it was to be excelled by Cuba.³ The last-named would, by virtue of its unexhausted fertility, be the latest to attain the stage of superabundance; but even one other great circumstance seconded this natural tendency. The enjoyment of the slave trade for many years after its abolition elsewhere gave the Spanish colony a vast advantage over its English competitor.⁴ At the time when England suppressed the traffic in human flesh, Merivale says that the production of sugar in Jamaica was already costing perhaps twice as much as in Cuba, even on equal terms, the variation being almost exclusively due to the difference in the state of the soils.⁵ The inevitable outcome when Cuba was in a superior economic position can readily be imagined.

It may well be asked, if their staple article was in such straits, why the planters, modifying their agricultural system, did not introduce other products so woefully required for the support of their laborers; the answer is easy. The slaves were not accustomed to cultivate other crops, and were, in fact, incapable of so doing. Other implements and better machinery would, furthermore, have been needed; but the prevailing financial embarrassment was such as not to admit of these purchases; while the negroes could not use them with-

¹ Lucas, II, 108-109.

² *Supra*, I, 279-280.

³ Merivale, 92-93, 307-308; whom Leroy-Beaulieu, 190-192, follows in a great measure.

⁴ *Supra*, I, 281 et seq.; Cunningham, "Growth of English Industry and Commerce," 599; Caldecott, 94; Merivale, 88.

⁵ *Ibid.*

out long instruction, and the instructors were lacking, for the proportion of whites to blacks did not exceed one to twenty, the former mostly living in the cities and separated from their serfs.¹

For these multifarious reasons the sugar industry was on the verge of collapse, and there was not any culture available to replace it; but British statesmen were slow to appreciate the impending disaster. At the close of the wars with France and Holland, the West Indies were still considered most valuable;² England having, in the course of hostilities, attacked and captured all those islands belonging to her enemies, insisted, when peace was negotiated, upon holding Tobago and St. Lucia, previously owned by France, and a goodly portion of Dutch Guiana.³ Trinidad had in the meantime been retained by the Treaty of 1802. Although, as subsequent events proved, the apparent prosperity of these regions was purely artificial, the English people still believed, after the abolition of the slave trade, that the monopoly fostered by the Navigation Act would suffice the planters until they should have an opportunity to adjust their business to the newly created conditions. While in the end this theory turned out fallacious, the fact is incontrovertible that the absolute reservation of the English market for sugar coming from the British colonies did, so long as that policy was maintained, protect this item from Cuban and other foreign competition.⁴ The crisis then arose, not so much from the want of a demand, as from the inherent difficulty of production under the situation existing in the West Indies.

Notwithstanding an increasing population in Great Britain and a larger number of plantation dependencies, the consumption of sugar in the mother country scarcely varied in twenty

¹ The non-residence of many of the planters was also a detrimental factor. Those who were there did not consider the islands as their permanent home, but only as a temporary abode, Rosscher and Jannasch, 24 et seq.

² "To have a plantation in Jamaica was to be an object of envy; it was much the same as being an Indian nabob." — CALDECOTT, 89; PAYNE, 198. For the mistaken basis on which this value was estimated, Leroy-Beaulieu, 189-190.

³ Payne, 198.

⁴ Walpole, VI, 329.

After the slave trade was abolished, English politicians were still favorable to the maintenance of servitude; the first act of legislation had been in the nature of a concession. It was agreed that of all the British possessions the West Indies were, since the independence of the United States, alone concerned in the traffic, and it was believed that its advantage to them was slight, because of the ample number of negroes already dwelling there; consequently not any harm could be incurred by England or by them through its suppression. That was a miscalculation; for scarcely was the law in force when the blacks began to decrease. To retain the slaves at their full complement without the annual importation of thirty or forty thousand, as previously carried thither, was found impossible. The cessation in the supply, it had been hoped, would secure for those in the islands better and more humane treatment; strangely, and still logically, the contrary proved true. The limitation in their stock and the legal obstacles to obtaining them elsewhere caused a rise in their value;¹ they cost more, hence they must work more. The labor required of them was considerably increased, and when they did not satisfactorily respond, they were most grievously abused.²

The agitators who had accomplished the annihilation of the slave trade did not falter.³ Attention was more and more directed to the West Indies by the complaints of the planters. The difficulties of the sugar industry attracted the investigations of the economists; Parliament was aroused to the consideration of the questions involved; committees to examine were appointed and reports made; but during these debates the philanthropists were busy; Wilberforce, Clarkson, and kindred spirits were constantly engrafting on these discussions the more pressing subject of the condition of the slaves. The cruelties practised upon them, their ill usage, their

¹ Immediately after the passage of the Wilberforce Bill abolishing the slave trade, another was introduced (1807) for the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, but it failed.

² *Marivale*, 312.

³ *Payne*, 201.

hardships, and their sufferings were being heralded to the nation. Public sentiment was being awakened.¹

As soon as Englishmen knew the facts, only a short time was required to elicit their sympathy; and that meant action. Appeal was made to the cabinet in office; which, as a measure of policy, partially yielding to the popular clamor, endeavored to exert persuasion over the colonists to induce them to exercise more humane conduct toward their negroes;² governors were warned, and they again besought the local legislative bodies to vote protective laws. Unfortunately for their own interests, but luckily for humanity, the planters assumed an attitude of defiance.³ Rejecting advice, they turned a deaf ear to all threats, and, while proclaiming their privilege to act as they deemed best, openly menaced England with the danger of revolution. Not only with the people, but even with the government, the bearing of the sugar growers became thoroughly intolerable; they were only hastening their own disasters. The very first consequences were to be felt in their midst; rumors of the agitation in Great Britain and the aggressive position taken by the whites necessarily

¹ Ireland says, "I imagine there are few people to-day who claim that the necessity for the abolition of slavery in the British colonies arose out of the ill treatment to which the slaves were subjected by their masters. The abolition of slavery was, in fact, merely an inevitable step in the ethical development of Great Britain, which must have been taken even though it could have been proved that each slave was as fondly cared for as the only child of loving parents. Incidentally it may be said, that, apart from all other considerations, the operation of economic laws would have brought slavery to an end almost as quickly as the popular clamor, which did in reality lead to its abolition throughout the British Dominions."—"Tropical Colonization," 132, 134-144; *supra*, II, 198.

² As the result of resolutions adopted by the House of Commons at the suggestion of Mr. Canning, "declaratory of the expediency of immediately ameliorating the condition of the slave population," a circular was sent out to the colonies, drawing attention to the debate in the House and giving "a decisive intimation that there must be an end of the flogging of women and of the use of the whip in the field."—MARTINEAU, II, 383-386; III, 315. Another similar circular had been already issued in 1797, Southey, III, 133-134.

³ For the opposition made to the "Canning" circular, cf. Martineau, II, 386 et seq.; Leroy-Beaulieu, 199; Payne, 202. In Jamaica, for example, an act was passed by the colonial legislature "to prevent the forfeiture of life and estate for killing a negro." In Barbados a statute was voted to forbid the intervention of the mother country, R. and J. 201.

spread among the slaves. The belief gained credence among the latter that, although they had, really, been freed, their masters were holding them in illegal restraint. Unrest became universal, and finally, in 1831, a frightful rebellion, costing many lives and much property, occurred in Jamaica.¹

When the planters declared their opposition to any amelioration in the lot of the negroes, the delay on the part of England in the solution of the problem was brief. All thought of prudence was cast aside; and the act abolishing slavery in the English colonies was approved by Parliament, the provisions of which went into effect after August 1, 1834. The transition to freedom was modified by the stipulation that the slaves should be apprenticed to their old owners for a certain period, fixed at six years on the plantations and four years elsewhere.² The local authorities were intrusted with the enactment of the proper statutes to carry out the general law, to maintain order, and to alleviate, so far as possible, whatever detrimental results might arise from its enforcement. Happily, the interval of partial liberty, as qualified by legal servitude, was passed in tranquillity and patient expectation by the black population; partly from dread and partly as a reward for good behavior the term of apprenticeship was ultimately curtailed, so that human bondage entirely ceased in the British West Indies, at the latest, in 1839.³

The transformation was not, however, accomplished without serious complications, due less to the misconduct of the freedmen than to the unconscious errors of judgment committed by

¹ *Supra*, II, 173, note 2; "Handbook of Jamaica" (1885-1886), 45. Even in 1823 a rebellion had occurred under similar circumstances in Demerara, Martineau, II, 387-391.

² *Supra*, II, 199, note 1. This plan was not without objectionable features, Merivale, 321 et seq.; the system worked the worst in Jamaica, "Annual Register" (1838), 345.

³ The slaves emancipated numbered 639,000, of whom 322,000 were in Jamaica, Ireland, 144; Caldecott says the number was 770,280, "British Colonization and Empire," 195; Martineau (III, 348) and Leroy-Beaulieu place it at 800,000. The term of apprenticeship varied in the different islands, Antigua even giving the blacks at once their absolute freedom, Martineau, III, 348. For details of the day of emancipation and the immediate results, *ibid.* 349-351.

them in their exuberant enjoyment of their recently bestowed rights. For the losses attributable to their innocent acts, the English and colonial officials were primarily responsible. When emancipation was complete, not any arrangement had been made by which the former slaves would be retained in their homes. In their simplicity they associated their misfortunes and hardships with the plantations and their overseers; they could not realize that they would be treated otherwise than as serfs;¹ their one central idea was to abandon their fields of labor, and scarcely were they liberated when their desertion occurred on a larger or smaller scale. The only limitation to this movement² was the extent of untilled land in the various colonies, for it was to these spots that the negro took refuge; there he built his cabin and established himself as an independent citizen. Where waste places were plentiful, as in Jamaica and Guiana, it was most difficult to persuade him to stay with his old master; on the other hand, in the smaller islands, where nearly all the soil was under cultivation, he was by circumstances obliged to submit.³ As might be anticipated, the crisis was therefore the worst in the larger possessions; here the exodus to the vacant fields was en masse. The planters were unable to secure enough help for the most necessary labors, while the blacks, unaccustomed to agricultural pursuits on their own account, rejoicing in lately found idleness and improvident of the future, were starving for the prime articles of life; thus both capitalist and freedman suffered in this new order of affairs. So far as local conditions restricted the possibility of migration to remote districts, some regions were less disturbed; but all without exception experienced, in a certain measure, similar effects.⁴

¹ In Jamaica the planters attempted to force the freedmen to work for trifling wages by raising rents immoderately, "Annual Register" (1838), 349.

² Ireland, 144-150; "Annual Register" (1838), 343, 348, 353.

³ Merivale, 87, 312 et seq., 339 et seq.; Leroy-Beaulieu, 199-200.

⁴ Perhaps the best concise statement of conditions then existing is to be found in the report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, dated July 25, 1842. Its resolutions are quoted in full by Ireland, 151-155, 160-161; cf. also Rodway, "West Indies and the Spanish Main," Ch. XV; Eden, "The West Indies," 99.

Before further time be devoted to the study of these phenomena, the more important results on the broader interests of these domains and on the policy of the parent state should now be considered; for the reaction was ultimately to work a greater economic revolution in England than any influence on the colonies previously imagined or conceived by the most ardent advocates of abolition. The final event was only a singular exemplification of the enchainment of the dependencies and the metropolis in their mutual relations.

The philanthropists had failed in their predictions that the suppression of the slave trade would not prejudice the West Indies; they were not less in error when they asserted that the termination of slavery would be a benefit to the cultivators of the cane; they had at least pretended to believe that the freedmen would be glad to remain with their masters; the sudden departure of the negroes from the plantations proved the fallacy of their estimate of human character.¹ The consequence was exactly what the planters had dreaded and what they had foretold to the English authorities. With their labor gone, their properties were unremunerative; the output of sugar fell to a minimum; the shipments quickly dwindled to a fraction of their former amount.² The problem then entered upon its most vital phase; for the use of this staple had become universal and its scarcity was severely felt. When these islands were seen to be incapable of growing sufficient for the demand, and without any prospect of improvement, it was necessary to seek elsewhere the required supplies. Heretofore foreign sugars imported into England had paid a duty twice as high as that assessed upon the West Indian product; the discrimination was extended—it is true in a lesser degree—even against other British colonies.³ Logical antici-

¹ Ireland, 144; *supra*, II, 206.

² The total importation of sugar from the West Indies into Great Britain in 1841 was 2,151,217 cwt.; from Jamaica alone, 528,585 cwt. Cf. McCulloch, 1190; compare these figures with those given *supra*, II, 202.

³ East India and Mauritius (prior to 1825) paid an import duty of thirty-seven shillings per cwt.; the rate for the West Indies was only twenty-five shillings. Cf. *post*, p. 213.

pations were fulfilled, in 1846, when the act abolishing this differential tariff was voted. These imposts were gradually decreased until, in 1854, they were entirely discarded; originally 1851 had been the limit fixed, but the crisis thereby occasioned caused their continuance for three years longer.¹

Reference has elsewhere been made to the general emancipation of England from the antiquated policy of the Navigation Act;² as one of the chief measures which nullified the ancient commercial system concerned the West Indian trade, its special consideration at this point seems most appropriate. The downfall of the colonial compact was closely connected with the abolition of slavery.³ The first concessions had been accorded by England. The West Indies, relying on other regions for the prime necessities of life, had, at their own solicitation, been relieved of the prohibition to buy in foreign countries. By a series of enactments, in 1822, 1825, 1833, and 1843, the privilege of purchase wheresoever had been vouchsafed.⁴ These laws, inaugurated with a view of cheapening the food of the negroes, had, indeed, had this effect. Parliament had thus hoped to offset the injury induced by the antislavery legislation; but while the situation was undoubtedly slightly mitigated, it was not cured. England, for the sake of these islands, had abandoned for herself and for her other dependencies the claim of exclusively supplying their demands for provisions—almost the only wants which they had. Consequently, under existing conditions, the terms of the colonial compact were unequal. These colonies were free to obtain their necessities where they pleased, but the English were still bound to consume their sugar; and worse, they were not discharging their obligation in this respect by furnishing the requisite quantity. Should all Englishmen, then, be thus burdened for the welfare of one single class which dwelt, or at

¹ Merivale, 339.

² *Supra*, II, 111, and note 3; Seeley, "Expansion of England," Lect. IV.

³ Leroy-Beaulieu, 200.

⁴ Levi, "History of British Commerce," 244 et seq.

least realized its profits, beyond the ocean? England had already declared that her people should not be taxed on corn for the aid of the farmers in their own midst. Would it be logical more highly to favor those whose interests were still more remote and whose relative importance to the empire had seriously declined? The nation had the inherent right to frequent the cheapest and most advantageous markets; if the West Indian planters were unable to bear competition in sugar, they must suffer the inevitable results or turn their attention to other products; but Englishmen would not any longer be prejudiced and restricted in the use of this great staple in order to satisfy a small fraction of the colonial population. Such were the arguments and conclusions which finally culminated in the equalization of the duties.¹

Taken together with the suppression of the corn tax, voted in this same year of 1846,² the sugar legislation signified the termination of the colonial compact; even prior to this date its provisions had, by other Parliamentary decrees, been seriously weakened.³ Of the details it seems unnecessary here to speak; let it suffice to know that the Navigation Act was, in fact, defunct.⁴ Thus, practically, the same decade which included the period of the grant of responsible government to Canada⁵ and the discontinuance of convict deportation to Australia,⁶ is notable for the extinction of slavery and the overthrow of the old trade doctrines. The coincidence is striking that these remarkable reforms should have been achieved almost contemporaneously; but still, when the causes are appreciated, it is apparent how intimately they were associated and how the one was indeed the inexorable consequence of the other. To determine which, by its effects, was the most

¹ For the opposing arguments on the question, briefly stated, cf. Martineau, IV, 339-340, 503, 557.

² For the Corn Law debates, *ibid.* IV, 420 et seq.

³ For a discussion of these measures, Leroy-Beaulieu, 208-210.

⁴ The carrying trade of the world was finally declared free by Parliament in 1849. For elaborate discussion of the Navigation Act and British commercial policy, cf. Earl Grey's speech in the House of Lords, May 8, 1849; Hansard, CV, 53-79.

⁵ 1840-1848.

⁶ 1837-1853.

potent in its material influence upon the world at large — freedom of trade, freedom of the colonists, or freedom of the negroes — is exceedingly difficult.

The antislavery leaders overreached their mark; for to them the admission into England of sugar cultivated by foreign slaves was very distasteful.¹ To pacify the philanthropists it was desirable to take some action which would mitigate the damage inflicted upon the British dependencies, directly upon the planters and indirectly upon the lately emancipated blacks; hence the sugar legislation was accompanied by other measures favorable to the West Indies. Acts encouraging immigration, labor contracts, and regular employment were thus passed.

The equalization of the duties, although not absolutely unexpected, was regarded as nearly a catastrophe.² Trinidad and Barbados alone escaped the worst results. Sugar of course declined in price, and the larger demand in England could not compensate this loss; for natural occurrences intervened in several colonies to accentuate the decrease in production.³ In the older settled islands the gradual fall in the temperature was one potent reason for a less luxuriant growth of the cane. Jamaica also sustained a further misfortune, for 40,000 of its negroes died in an outbreak of cholera. Still the event proved less harmful to the West Indies, as a group, than had been anticipated. The abolition of slavery had been the severer trial. An examination of statistics shows that the average annual British importation of sugar from these possessions in the last six years of slavery amounted to 3,488,842 cwt. During the term of apprenticeship the figures were 3,180,488 cwt.; in the first year of emancipation (1839), 2,824,000 cwt.; in the second, 2,202,833 cwt.; in 1845, 2,854,000 cwt.; and in 1848, 3,795,311 cwt. If attention be directed to the interval of reform in sugar legislation it will be found that the exportation to England in 1842–1845, just prior to this revision of the laws, was per annum 2,264,604 cwt.; during 1847–1853 it

¹ Leroy-Beaulieu, 208.

² Eves, "West Indies," 83.

³ Merivale, 338–340; Payne, 203–204.

yearly reached 2,641,191 cwt.; and in 1853-1858, 3,073,885 cwt.¹ While the annual mean during the two periods of five years, each respectively before and after the date of this change in policy, did not materially vary, the excess, indeed, was in favor of the later epoch. Of the special causes for this revival notice will soon be taken.

The distinction between the progressive and the retrograding communities must be clearly borne in mind.² Jamaica, Guiana,³ Grenada, and Tobago experienced the greatest adversity in these unlucky times.⁴ The economic story of the first-named island is an example of all. In 1805 Jamaica had shipped 2,138,000 cwt. of sugar; in 1835 the quantity was 1,149,000 cwt.; in 1845, 530,000 cwt.; in 1850, 575,000 cwt.;⁵ in 1857, when this staple constituted nine-tenths of the exports, these were valued at £2,800,000. In 1895 their total was £1,873,105, but of them sugar only amounted to £195,459; in 1897 they aggregated £1,662,543, but the latter's share was less than ten per cent, or only £150,311.⁶ The calamity due to the abrogation of the duties had scarcely been realized when, as in the case of the French Antilles, the effects of beet-root competition began to be felt; to this rivalry, with its attendant system of complicated bounties on the European Continent, the constant and steady decadence of the Jamaica industry is chiefly attributable.⁷

Of the colonies which more easily weathered the storms of the forties and fifties, Antigua,⁸ Barbados,⁹ and Trinidad fared the best; the emancipated blacks were obliged to remain on the plantations, for there was very little vacant land to

¹ For details of each colony, cf. Merivale, 334-335; McCulloch, 1188-1190. The figures given by Leroy-Beaulieu slightly differ.

² Merivale, 313 et seq.

³ Guiana subsequently experienced a great revival of prosperity, Payne, 207.

⁴ Merivale, 314-316, 340 et seq.

⁵ *Supra*, II, 202; Merivale, 100.

⁶ "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 251.

⁷ *Supra*, I, 428-429. Nevertheless, as Payne points out, the decline of Jamaica was not by any means entirely due to one cause; the reasons were complex and of long standing; the events mentioned in the text did, however, materially contribute to it, "European Colonies," 202-203.

⁸ Eves, Ch. XX.

⁹ Rodway, 328.

which they could escape.¹ Justice to the planters requires that the energy manifested by them throughout all these islands in their endeavors to redress their position be not overlooked. The disappearance of slavery was the signal for the adoption of modern implements, machinery, and methods. Railways were built and highways improved; for those regions, therefore, where labor was still available, the transition was more nearly an economic revolution than a permanent disaster; for instance, in Barbados the production of sugar increased from 278,000 cwt. in 1825 to 524,000 cwt. in 1850.²

The lack of hands and the decline in the fertility of the soil seem to have been the most important factors in the unfavorable situation of the establishments which suffered the more; the latter feature was insuperable; the former all the colonies attempted to overcome by the importation under engagement of native Africans and East Indians, but where the largest number went their influx was still unable to alter the prevailing conditions.³ Negro contract labor was not long tolerated by the metropolis, for it was soon found to assume only another form of slavery; but the admission of Indian coolies continued. Chinese, Maltese, Maderians, and a few Germans were also thus hired.⁴ Augustin Cochin states that 72,585 foreigners were introduced into the West Indies prior to 1850; of these Guiana received 39,043; Jamaica, 14,519; Trinidad, 13,356; and all the other English dependencies together 5667 individuals.⁵ In the following nine years 87,537 more of them arrived;⁶ probably this assisted immigration, however baneful in its influence on morals and society, alone saved the principal pursuit of Jamaica and Guiana from immediate and absolute ruin.⁷

¹ Merivale, 313.

² Merivale, 100; Leroy-Beaulieu, 202-203; for later statistics cf. *post*, p. 222.

³ Rodway, 327.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Cited by Leroy-Beaulieu, 203-204.

⁶ For particulars, cf. Merivale, 334.

⁷ For a discussion of the indented labor system as in force in the British West Indies, its methods, regulations, and statistics, cf. Ireland, 160-191; for a comparison between slave and coolie labor, cf. Caldecott, 196.

The West Indies were not the only British possessions to pass through this crisis. Mauritius, the new acquisition in the Indian Ocean, was likewise affected by antislavery and sugar legislation.¹ Long before this era recruits had been drawn from India to work its plantations, so that when the troublous times came it was only necessary to augment their number. From 1834 to 1847 94,000 had been transported; in the next two years, 12,500; and from 1849 to 1858, 143,293 persons.² The output of sugar in Mauritius steadily rose from 94,000 cwt. in 1825 to 550,000 cwt. in 1835; to 716,000 cwt. in 1845; to 1,003,000 cwt. in 1850; to 1,368,132 cwt. in 1855.³ What a contrast between the lands of the western hemisphere and this latter region, where labor was cheap, abundant, and within reach!⁴

Further to trace these questions is futile. In the smaller islands of the West Indian group this industry, surviving all detrimental measures, was blest with a moderate degree of prosperity until the excessive promotion of the beet in the Old World and the inevitable extension of the manufacture — especially in Germany, France, and Belgium — commenced to give warning of another more vital danger; since 1860 this last rivalry has been growing more and more harmful.⁵ Again, the restriction imposed by United States tariffs upon the entrance of sugar coming from these colonies, and the impracticability of negotiating any treaty of reciprocity with them, — as members of the British commercial system, — form serious obstacles to their full enjoyment of their natural market.

As an indication of the present volume of this trade the following table may not be uninteresting: —

¹ Prior to 1825 sugar from Mauritius, like that from East India, paid thirty-seven shillings per cwt. upon importation into Great Britain; at that date the rate was reduced to twenty-five shillings, the same as that for the West Indian product, *supra*, 207, note 3.

² Based on statistics given by Merivale, 334.

³ According to M. Cochin.

⁴ For a discussion of the labor question in Mauritius, cf. Merivale, 344 et seq.

⁵ Caldecott, 94-95; *supra*, I, 429.

VALUE OF SUGAR EXPORTED FROM THE WEST INDIES
IN RECENT YEARS :

	1890	1894	1898
Jamaica.	£236,188	£239,210	£150,311
Barbados	816,680	625,872	500,000 ^a
Trinidad	630,815	598,010	603,285
Leeward Islands.	300,000	260,000	175,885
St. Vincent	53,062	27,270	14,610
St. Lucia	83,578	66,161	51,569
British Guiana	1,606,690 ²	1,300,000 ^a	1,040,982
Approximate Total	£3,727,013	£3,116,523	£2,536,642

How upon the abolition of slavery the negroes, whenever possible, abandoned their homes and wandered to the more remote districts has been related. For them, with their limited means, sugar planting was not feasible, while, on the other hand, in order to avoid starvation, they perceived it absolutely essential to raise ordinary garden truck; hence a kind of petty husbandry spontaneously developed. Among the freedmen some prospered and, as a matter of fact, in time became the real purchasers of the places occupied by them. In Jamaica the number of such proprietors increased from 2114 in 1838 to 7340 in 1840. In Guiana, where the negroes seem to have thrived the best, there were in the latter-mentioned year 15,906 owning real estate. Those colonies in which the soil was the cheapest were of course the most favorable to this transition, and there the difficulties of the industrious ex-slaves were the least; in them they attained a position of independence much more rapidly and easily than their old masters avoided disaster.⁴

One of the immediate and earliest effects of the abolition of slavery was the consequent tendency to modify the nature

¹ Cf. "Statesman's Year Book," and "Annual Cyclopaedia" for the years mentioned, article "West Indies."

² Figures for 1889.

³ Estimated.

⁴ Leroy-Beaulieu, 200-201.

of colonial products.¹ The major portion of the emancipated blacks—of whom there were 600,000 to 800,000²—began at once to grow their own food supplies, which had previously been imported; they commenced to draw their nourishment from the land on which they lived. The yield of sugar declined, hence the quantity exported decreased; local agricultural commodities were more plentiful, for that reason their importation was less; the loss on both sides of foreign trade rendered the total materially smaller,³ but the people were more and more feeding themselves. Shall it therefore be said that their absolute welfare was diminished because of the absence of large figures on the balance sheet? Were they not rather, by the introduction of a variety of farming, promoting their true wealth? Was not this transformation a blessing in disguise? Suppose that the output of sugar in the West Indies had been greater than in actuality and that of fruits and vegetables zero, would prosperity have been heightened? Because of an augmented possibility in cultivation, would the sale of the former staple, with the intense competition of beet root, have been the better assured? Is it not fortunate under existing economic conditions—especially for these regions—that their harvest of the one is less and of other crops more? This result was most directly attributable to emancipation; would that the issue had otherwise been as fortunate!

Among the freedmen—as in every community—many idle, careless, and thriftless individuals did not care to work or were incompetent; others were unlucky in the selection or chance location of the tracts upon which they settled; in some islands, also, there was little ground at their disposal, or such as was not occupied was too valuable for their purposes. Some then preferred an aimless, wandering life, eking out their support in the wilderness or on charity; while others missed success and were unable to pay the rent exacted of them. To the first-mentioned group belonged the vagabonds, the most disorderly section of society; but the members of the second

¹ Leroy-Beaulieu, 198-199.

³ Lucas, II, 64-65.

² *Supra*, II, 205, note 3.

category equally came in conflict with their old masters. Strife,¹ inevitably to be expected in the readjustment of social relations, owed its origin to the situation both of the vicious and the unfortunate. Most of the whites were instinctively prejudiced against their former slaves, whose liberation they had so long fought and, in a financial sense, so severely felt; it was, therefore, not without satisfaction that the land-owners dispossessed a black if any legal excuse offered.² Individually the whites never hesitated to enforce their rights, but as a class they, through dread or compulsion, made many concessions. Socially there was scarcely any attempt made by the colonists to improve the negroes' position; whatever progress was achieved in this respect was attained through the latter's unaided efforts.

Politically matters were different. The colored race was in the majority, and, unless granted equality of citizenship, threatened insurrection; the Crown also, through the exercise of its prerogatives and by the influence of its duly accredited representatives, was assiduously defending the freedmen. Some of the local assemblies therefore passed, under pressure of terror or necessity, so-called electoral reform bills, by which all male inhabitants, whether white or black, having certain prescribed qualifications, were accorded full civil privileges. In the following elections several negroes were returned to the island legislatures.³ Such was the predicament just prior to the revolution which was then about to take place, a result which might have been anticipated as the natural issue of the other changes so rapidly occurring, but most peculiar in the history of colonization as a backward step, voluntarily accepted by the entire population as the only solution of perplexing domestic difficulties.

¹ Lucas, II, 110; "Hand Book of Jamaica" (1885-1886), 50.

² The adjustment of local legislation to the newly created conditions was most difficult. The home government used every means to protect the rights and liberty of the freedmen; the colonial legislatures, on the other hand, frequently defied the Crown and its representatives; in Jamaica the friction became so intense that the cabinet of Lord Melbourne decided to suspend the constitution, which attempt, however, ended disastrously for its supporters, Martineau, IV, 151 et seq.

³ Payne, 205.

Before the importance of this movement can be fully understood, the form of rule which these colonies had previously enjoyed must be accurately appreciated. Just preceding the American Revolution the British West Indies constituted four distinct administrations: 1, Barbados; 2, Jamaica; 3, the Windward Islands; and 4, the Leeward Islands. The third group included Tobago and Grenada, together with the latter's dependencies; the fourth comprised St. Christopher, Antigua, Nevis, Montserrat, Tortola, and some minor islands. In each of these divisions there was a governor and staff, seconded by an executive council and an assembly elected by the people.¹ This system was similar to that of the continental provinces. Generally the power of the assemblies was very broad; they regulated both temporal and church affairs. The authority of the chief magistrates varied according to growth of custom and habit; in some localities it was circumscribed, in others it was more effective. In any event, there was little friction between the officials; for the government in those days was thoroughly the white man's, its chief occupation being the maintenance of order among the black population. The suppression of negro insurrections was the principal task of governors and legislatures.² Notwithstanding the character of the laws enacted, it is a fact worthy of notice that the theoretical principles of representative institutions were first elaborated in these regions — limited, of course, be it well understood, exclusively to one class, the whites.

It has already been remarked how, after the introduction of slavery into the British West Indies, the number of whites throughout the entire eighteenth century was gradually, but constantly, declining, while the negroes with the prevalence of the slave trade were rapidly multiplying; these conditions persisted until, in 1835, they were respectively estimated at 76,240 and 902,600 individuals. After the act of emancipation

¹ Eves, 88; Lucas, II, 108-110, 111-112; "Hand Book of Jamaica" (1885-1886), 74-82; Cotton and Payne, 111; Payne, 109.

² Payne, 110; for particulars, cf. Southey, "West Indies."

the position of the whites is readily imagined. As a measure of conciliation the blacks were then endowed with political rights. When some of them were chosen members of the legislatures it was at once perceived that there was danger of their supremacy, if the majority were to govern; for in every single colony they could claim numerical superiority.¹ Until 1865 the crisis was open. By this time the negroes themselves were clearly divided into the orderly and the disorderly elements. Many were resisting the enforcement of law, and verging toward socialism, demanding that all be allotted, without cost, a parcel out of their old masters' estates. Those tracts on which they had settled, and for which they refused to pay rent, they wished legally assigned to them. The planters, on the other hand, would have thought it fitting revenge to have driven them off these places and destroyed the fruits of their industry; but it was injudicious for them to adopt such harsh measures or to inflame the anger of the masses. The mixed legislatures were utterly unable to cope with the problem; after a long period of uncertainty and aggravation the discontented negroes of Jamaica arose, in 1865, in rebellion. Had it not been for the praiseworthy loyalty of the colored proprietors, the white population would probably have been massacred and British capital annihilated.²

The home authorities then intervened; when tranquillity had been restored the governor of Jamaica proposed the surrender of the colonial charter to the queen, and the transformation into a Crown colony was thus achieved. One by one the other three groups likewise relinquished their constitutions. Another reform, slowly but steadily pursued, has been the abolition, so far as possible, of various local offices, thus suppressing unnecessary expense and tending to unite the different islands of the respective divisions more nearly into several colonies.³ In spite of the efforts of the government

¹ Cotton and Payne, 111.

² At length, McCarthy. "Our Own Times," IV, 38-49; "Annual Cyclopaedia" (1865), 447-454; (1866), 417-422; (1867), 413-415; Payne, 205; *supra*, II, 215, note 3.

³ Cotton and Payne, 111; Payne, 205-206.

to reduce disbursements, taxation nevertheless continued to increase. In 1882 the average individual tax in Jamaica was \$4.10 per capita. The repeated protests of the inhabitants finally occasioned the appointment of a royal commission to investigate. Its report disclosed gross negligence and considerable dishonesty in the handling of the colonial finances,—a circumstance more or less true of most of the West Indies. Many innovations, political and economic, were subsequently instituted. On the other hand, the people—especially those of Jamaica—were now thoroughly aroused. Public meetings to discuss ways and means of securing a more liberal type of administration were held; and eventually, in the latter part of 1883, a committee of the colonists was sent to England to solicit from the Colonial Secretary proper redress for their grievances. The agitation persisted so strongly that one month later, in December, 1883, the privilege of electing a minority of the legislative councils was granted.¹ This plan has been somewhat modified and is differently applied in the various localities. But the principle of representation is now almost universally recognized. Jamaica has a legislative assembly, nine elective and nine nominated members. In Barbados all twenty-four members are at present elected, but there is a property qualification required of voters; in the Leeward Islands ten members of the legislature are appointed and ten elected; in Trinidad all eighteen members are appointed. The Windward group is under one governor, but each island has its own separate legislature. Honduras, on the mainland, is a distinct Crown colony.² British Guiana has a peculiar administration, based on the old Dutch system; the governor is assisted by a so-called court of policy, in which the residents are represented by some elected delegates.³ In the islands the chief question after the sugar problem⁴ and political

¹ Lucas, II, 111; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1884), 801-802; (1898), 858 et seq.

² For brief details of the administrative organization of the West Indies, cf. Cotton and Payne, 155-160; "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 244-249.

³ Cotton and Payne, 159.

⁴ The depression in the sugar industry, it is claimed, is chiefly due to the bounty system of the nations of the European Continent, "Annual Cyclopæ-

reform is the discussion of closer commercial relations with the United States; Jamaica has for many years been exceedingly active in this regard. In British Guiana the Venezuelan boundary dispute was long the foremost topic, for on its decision vast interests depended.¹

With a few words and figures indicative of their present condition, the account of these dependencies must cease. The population of all the islands in 1861 was 934,006; in 1871, 1,061,000; in 1881, 1,213,144; in 1891, 1,434,413;² and in 1898, 1,853,798² individuals. Scarcely more than 100,000 are whites. The inhabitants of British Guiana were in 1899 estimated to be 286,222, of these 110,000 are East Indians; British Honduras has 34,747 people. The area of these colonies, including the islands as well as Guiana and Honduras, is 128,971 square miles. The following were the general statistics for 1898-1899: revenue, £2,470,645; expenditures, £2,491,775; public debt, £5,214,672; the total imports were £7,951,794, of which £3,363,225 from England; exports, £7,796,790, of which £2,453,551 to the United Kingdom.

dia" (1897), 833-834. The following resolution was adopted at a conference held in Barbados during September, 1898: "This meeting of delegates from British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, Barbados, and Antigua, while fully recognizing the efforts of the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies to afford relief to the West Indian colonists suffering from the serious depression of the sugar industry, regrets that so far the attempts to arrange reciprocal relations between the United States and the West Indies, as well as to obtain the abolition of the bounty system, have met with no success. This meeting would strongly urge upon the British government that nothing short of the rehabilitation of the sugar industry can restore prosperity to the West Indies and British Guiana; and they respectfully demand, as British subjects, the right to compete in the home market, at the natural cost of reproduction, with sugar imported from foreign countries; and urgently call upon her Majesty's government, as the only effective remedy, to take such steps as will either prevent the importation of all sugar on which the export bounties are given, or annul by countervailing duties all the advantages derived from such export bounties."—*"Annual Cyclopædia"* (1898), 833; *"Statesman's Year Book"* (1900), 252; *supra*, II, 211, 213.

¹ For Venezuela boundary dispute, cf. *"Annual Cyclopædia"* (1895), 740-752; (1896), 800-807; (1897), 809; (1899), 845; also official records, entitled, "United States Commission on Boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana," published by the United States government; for actual boundary as fixed by the commission, cf. map in front of *"Statesman's Year Book"* (1900).

² Including the British colonies on the mainland.

III. ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN THE WEST INDIES 221

ugar, molasses, rum, fruit, cocoa, and coffee constitute the chief shipments. The next tables show the respective situation in the principal islands or groups in 1886 and 1898:¹—

AREA AND POPULATION OF THE WEST INDIES

	AREA SQUARE MILES	POPULATION	
		1886	1898
Bahamas ²	4,466	42,278	53,256
Barbados	166	180,000	190,000
Jamaica and Turks Islands . . .	4,424	620,000	733,118
Trinidad and Tobago	1,868	178,270	273,655
Leeward Islands	701	122,769 ³	127,800
Windward Islands	784	149,535 ⁴	155,000
British Guiana	109,000 ⁵	274,311	286,222
British Honduras	7,562	30,000	34,747
Total	128,971	1,597,163	1,853,798

STATISTICS OF REVENUE, EXPENDITURE, AND DEBT

	REVENUE		EXPENDITURE		DEBT	
	1886	1898	1886	1898	1886	1898
Bahamas	£48,920	£86,760	£44,629	£64,148	£83,126	£118,426
Barbados	136,286	182,582	136,628	175,319	29,600	414,000
Jamaica and Turks Islands	564,375	755,746	582,735	760,808	552,543	2,098,535
Trinidad and Tobago .	453,407	592,731	443,503	619,225	571,580	938,773
Leeward Islands . . .	104,621	112,576	103,172	138,613	39,775	800,121
Windward Islands . . .	131,506	157,864	139,111	146,261	47,150	334,290
British Guiana	446,025	525,865	476,964	525,387	446,700	975,791
British Honduras . . .	271,510	56,521	302,775	62,019	268,750	34,736
Total	£2,152,040	£2,470,645	£2,229,517	£2,491,775	£2,038,724	£5,214,673

¹ These figures are drawn from "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 244-252.

² Each of these colonies includes its minor dependencies.

³ 1884.

⁴ 1885.

⁵ Subject to Venezuelan arbitration.

STATEMENT OF FOREIGN TRADE

	EXPORTS		IMPORTS	
	1886	1898	1886	1898
Bahamas	£150,390	£174,860	£189,410	£238,336
Barbados	739,911	769,231	863,491	1,058,885
Jamaica and Turks Islands	1,280,118	1,687,353	1,325,603	1,841,860
Trinidad and Tobago .	2,509,140	2,331,376	2,503,514	2,293,911
Leeward Islands . .	396,234	299,016	376,857	312,092
Windward Islands . .	375,265	395,355	363,305	578,321
British Guiana . . .	1,842,585	1,775,691	1,436,297	1,371,412
British Honduras . .	287,522	263,908	242,280	256,977
Total	£7,581,165	£7,796,790	£7,300,757	£7,951,794

The examination of the preceding figures demonstrates at a glance how little the present importance of these possessions is to England, as compared with the totality of her colonial realms. As late as the opening of the nineteenth century a prize for which the two chief nations of Europe fought, the West Indies now form an insignificant fraction of the empire tributary to Great Britain.

The two other colonies within which a purely representative type of administration is in force are the Bermudas and Malta; neither requires any extended mention. The Bermudas, situated almost in mid-Atlantic, comprise some four hundred small islands of coral formation; their entire area is twenty square miles. Discovered by the Spaniards in 1522, they remained unsettled until 1620. In 1609, as elsewhere remarked, Sir George Somers, while on his way to Virginia, was wrecked on their coasts; after arriving at his destination, he again returned to these regions and here died; his men, however, reached England.¹ Their account of the delightful climate and abundant vegetation undoubtedly aroused interest; for in 1612 James I issued a charter for the occupation of

¹ *Supra*, II, 18 ; Southey, I, 246, 251.

the group, and in 1620 a representative government, such as continues to this day, was inaugurated. The naval station existing there in olden times was most conveniently located between England and her North American provinces. Although the events of three centuries have materially changed their relative value, the Bermudas still retain their original characteristics. Their career has been tranquil and undisturbed; while the antislavery legislation affected them, they, not being dependent on the sugar industry, passed through that era without any serious economic or social upheavals. For a long period a small number of British convicts was annually sent thither.¹ The progress achieved during the last fifty years or thereabouts is indicated by the following statistics:—

	1850	1898
Population	11,092	16,291
Revenue	£12,630	£38,923
Expenditures	16,227	39,102
Debt		45,600
Imports	130,500	351,274
Exports	19,960	113,903

By far the greater proportion of trade is with the United States; onions, lily bulbs, and potatoes are the leading exports. Of the 16,291 inhabitants 10,052 are colored. The administration of the Bermudas—only twenty of which are peopled—is in the hands of a governor, an executive council appointed by the Crown, a legislative council likewise chosen, and an assembly of thirty-six members elected by popular vote under a limited suffrage qualification.²

Malta is worthy of much longer notice than for the present purpose seems necessary. An island in the Mediterranean,

¹ For history of the Bermudas, cf. Lucas, II, Sec. I; also article in "Encyclopædia Britannica."

² For further statistics, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 223.

it was undoubtedly successively a colonial outpost of the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Romans; afterward it fell to the Vandals, then to the Turks, and later to the Arabs; Sicily and Spain one after the other owned it. Charles V gave it to the Knights of St. John of Malta, who ruled it until 1798; in that year Napoleon, on his Egyptian expedition, seized it. The English, after a two years' blockade, captured it in 1800; by the Peace of Amiens it was officially restored to the Order of Knights, but still the British held it. Malta was formally ceded, in 1815, to Great Britain; since then it has developed into a most important military and naval station, its value being vastly enhanced by the opening of the Suez Canal. Cotton, as well as wheat and other cereals, are cultivated.¹ The Maltese are renowned as goldsmiths, and some other industries have been introduced; both land and people are interesting for their past, but their history during the English occupation has been uneventful.² The area of the island, with its dependencies, is 117 square miles, and its population 181,642, of whom 177,745 are natives, 2092 English, and 1805 persons of other nationalities. In 1898 the revenue amounted to £332,488 and the expenditures to £339,082. The imports were to the sum of £10,025,131 and the exports £9,379,140; both have in recent years been gradually decreasing. The share of England in the former is very small, and in the latter scarcely reaches a quarter of the total. The public debt is £79,168.³

Mauritius and Ceylon stand in an intermediate position between those dependencies with a representative form of administration, and those which are strictly Crown colonies; for in both the elective representation is less and its power is more restricted than in the establishments heretofore mentioned, while, on the other hand, the authority of the governor and

¹ The chief importance of Malta consists in the fact that it is directly on the route to the East and thus affords a military and naval rendezvous from which Great Britain can protect her line of communications.

² For history of Malta, cf. Lucas, I, 12-30; Spencer Walpole, "History of England," I, 98; and works cited in Bibliography.

³ For further statistics, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 107-108.

the other appointed officials is greater. How Mauritius¹ was originally a Dutch settlement, but subsequently came into the possession of the French, and finally was taken by the British, on December 2, 1810, being the last fragment of the old French colonial empire to capitulate;² how the English rendered it much more thriving than under its former rule; how the culture of the cane there flourished; how the island, owing to antislavery and sugar legislation, passed through vicissitudes similar to those of its rivals; how the introduction of large numbers of Indian coolies as laborers mitigated the distress felt in the other plantation colonies; and how, by reason of the depressed conditions in the West Indies, the utility of Mauritius to England increased,³—these facts have been already described. The high degree of prosperity, due to the difficulties of other regions, is evidenced by the marked augmentation in sugar exports, which rose from 550,000 cwt. in 1835 to 1,363,132 cwt. in 1855.⁴ In later times the volume of these shipments has considerably varied, subject to the excessive competition of the beet root. The following statement shows for several years past the imports and exports of Mauritius, and likewise the value of sugar as an item of the latter:—

	1886	1891	1897
Imports, total	\$4,789,393	\$6,047,980	\$7,202,091
Exports, total	6,476,679	7,096,475	8,261,379
Sugar exports	5,825,234	6,758,296	7,218,307

Besides the one staple, other articles are of little account; they all are tropical products, such as rum, aloe fibre, vanilla, and cocoanut oil. The trade, mostly with Africa, Australia,

¹ Greswell, "British Colonization," 240; "Imperial Institute Year Book" (1895-1896), 216; Lucas, I, 143.

² *Supra*, I, 411-412.

³ *Supra*, II, 198, 213.

⁴ Merivale, 100.

and India, is not large with Great Britain. The area of the island is 705 square miles, and its population in 1898 was 378,872 individuals, of whom 261,222 were of East Indian birth or descent. The revenue in 1898 was £762,032; the expenditure £813,147; the debt £1,195,691. A governor, designated by the Crown, an executive council, and a council of government (with a few elective members) administer public affairs. The Seychelles (population 17,000), the Chagos group, Rodrigues (population 2000), and a few smaller isles are dependencies of Mauritius.¹

To Ceylon, as a Portuguese and a Dutch colony, reference has elsewhere been briefly made.² Its own history is, indeed, to be traced back several thousand years, but at present only its modern life, as a portion of the British empire, is of interest. The first entrance of the English into its territory was during the war with Holland, in 1782, when several districts were seized, only to be restored by the peace treaty of the following year. In 1795 the British again captured the more prominent Dutch settlements, holding them until the close of hostilities, in 1815; at this latter date England was duly confirmed in her title to the entire island; and her rule has been undisturbed except for several local insurrections which have occurred during the century. For once the English failed in their designs; upon its conquest Ceylon was originally annexed to the presidency of Madras (India), but, the administration proving in this form scandalous and the trouble with the native populations unending, was, in 1801, erected into a distinct colony.⁴ Its former European masters had been content to occupy only the coasts, leaving the interior unexplored and uncultivated. The British adopted a more vigorous policy; the very first governor planned a comprehensive road system, which not only opened the remoter regions to investment, but likewise secured the better obedience of the

¹ For further statistics and other data, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 200-204.

² *Supra*, I, 211, 319, 328.

³ Payne, 139, 143.

⁴ *Ibid.* 209.

inhabitants. With the abundance of cheap, magnificent land thus available, and with the facility of unlimited, economical labor at hand, capital was speedily attracted.¹

Like sugar in the West Indies, coffee became the great staple of Ceylon² and, strange to say, was destined to experience an analogous period of prosperity and a similar degree of ultimate ruin. To trace in detail the reasons for these vicissitudes would be interesting, but the story must be abbreviated, remarking only that the outcome is another striking illustration of the danger of excessive devotion to one product, to the exclusion of a variety of cultures.³ Coffee planting, introduced by Englishmen about the year 1825, thenceforth rapidly rose in importance. In 1836 the exports were 60,329 cwt.; in 1846, 173,892 cwt.; in 1856, 445,568 cwt.; in 1866, 899,480 cwt.⁴ In 1875 the quantity raised was stated to be nearly 1,000,000 cwt. Next after Brazil and Java, Ceylon was then the most considerable coffee growing district of the world. The capital there invested in this one business was estimated at approximately \$65,000,000, and high expectations for further development were entertained. It was thought that the output in 1880 would reach 1,500,000 cwt.; but, alas! how often the anticipations of man are disappointed. A blight fell upon the plantations in 1879, resulting in a calamitous disaster; in that year the shipments barely exceeded 92,000 cwt.; in 1891 they amounted to only 8640 cwt. In 1890 their value was calculated to be about \$1,895,000; in 1898, \$263,600. Thus the fall of the coffee industry has within twenty years been accomplished. The causes, while mostly natural, were complex. The effects extended to all classes and to every branch of insular activity. The coolies were without labor, the planters were poverty-stricken; bankruptcy passed like a tidal wave over the island, engulfing com-

¹ For further history, cf. Greswell, 228; "Imperial Institute Year Book" (1895-1896), 463; and works cited in Bibliography; more briefly, article in "Encyclopædia Britannica."

² Dilke, "Problems of Greater Britain," 478.

³ Greswell, 233.

⁴ Simmonds, "Tropical Agriculture," 36-40.

mercial and banking houses in its wake. The crisis endured from 1880 to 1886.¹

Another pursuit, replacing the old fetich, began then to give promise of renewed affluence.² Tea superseded coffee. Prior to that time this crop had not assumed any significance. In 1874 the exports of Ceylon tea amounted to 484,135 pounds; in 1884 to 2,387,959; in 1890 to 50,742,086; in 1894 to 85,376,322; and in 1897 to 114,466,318 pounds. The more recent increase in this production is better indicated by the value of such shipments. In 1891 they aggregated \$9,750,000; in 1898 they were approximately \$14,320,000. Other items are of small account; they are cocoanuts, plumbago, coffee, areca nuts, and cinchona. The figures following give full particulars of economic conditions at the two periods named:—

	1891	1898
Revenue	\$5,748,067	\$7,541,600
Expenditures	5,259,225	6,853,155
Debt	12,227,396	17,955,042
Imports	21,323,325	29,367,918
Exports	18,815,925	28,529,308

The area of Ceylon is 25,333 square miles, and in 1891 the population numbered 3,009,461; in 1897 it was estimated at 3,448,752.³ The administration⁴ of affairs is in the hands of a governor, an executive council appointed by the Crown, and a legislative council of seventeen members, eight of whom are selected by the different native tribes. The island is divided into nine provinces, in each of which an agent resides, whose

¹ For the crisis in the coffee industry, cf. subtitle "Ceylon," article "Great Britain" in "Annual Cyclopædia" for recent years, also "Statesman's Year Book," "Ceylon."

² Greswell, 234 et seq.

³ For further statistics, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 112-118.

⁴ Stanford, "Compendium of Geography and Travel," "Asia," by A. H. Keane, 277.

duty is to advise the local chieftain. This form of rule has been in force since 1833. The Roman-Dutch law, although materially modified by modern enactments, is still the basis of justice.¹

Old-time prosperity has been quickly regained. The effects of the destruction of the coffee industry, so colossal in magnitude, were borne remarkably well. By the fortunate circumstance of the introduction of the tea culture,² the one staple was successfully substituted for the other. If not any fortuitous incident arises in this new career, Ceylon seems to have the right to anticipate another brilliant epoch.

¹ Cotton and Payne, 152.

² Greswell, 235.

CHAPTER XXIV

ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN THE CROWN COLONIES AND PROTECTORATES

ALL the other British colonial possessions, wheresoever situated and however peopled, are classified as "Crown colonies." To avoid any possibility of confusion it must be remembered that, besides the three varieties known as Responsible, Representative, and Crown, Great Britain has other dependencies; some with a less degree of autonomy, such as the company-managed territories on the west and the east coast of Africa, and others enjoying theoretical freedom, like Cyprus and Egypt, where its sovereignty is proclaimed to be merely temporary; while alone, with a government peculiar to itself, India—the greatest of English acquisitions—is to be distinguished. Of each of these establishments an effort will be made to give a brief description. The Crown colonies do not require long attention; for, whatever be their value as naval outposts, few of them, if any, have in the colonial system attained prominence; on the other hand, the history of those regions over which protectorates are exercised for the most part lies without the scope of the present treatise, they being still entitled either to claim the right of qualified independence, or to demand recognition as an integral portion of a non-English state. They are, therefore, to be considered as a class to themselves, not yet incorporated into the British empire, although, perchance, the student of colonization in the twentieth century may see inaugurated in them a more strictly acknowledged type of colonial administration.

In the Crown colony there is not any pretension to the concession of civil privileges.¹ The governor, appointed by the

¹ For the constitutional status of the Crown colonies, cf. Lewis, "Government of Dependencies," 156-157, 280 note; Cotton and Payne, 199. According

colonial office, is absolute; he is aided by a council of local residents selected by himself or by the home authorities, but this body is simply advisory; for, if deemed wise, its suggestions can be totally rejected or disregarded.¹ The post of chief magistrate is, therefore, a very responsible position, exacting much tact, judgment, and ability; fortunately, the men chosen for this task have generally shown themselves honest, capable, and considerate of the welfare of the inhabitants.² The dependencies in this group fall into two divisions, those which are strategic points of military or naval importance, and those in which the small number of white residents render a strong government necessary in order to hold the natives in check; the former embraces Gibraltar, the Falklands, St. Helena, Ascension, Aden, the Straits Settlements (also previously Labuan), and Hong Kong, all notable fortresses, marking the successive stages of progress in British power; the latter comprises Sierra Leone, Gambia, the Gold Coast, and Lagos.³

Of the British military stations, Gibraltar⁴ is justly the most celebrated. This rock, at the extreme southern extremity of the Spanish peninsula, was in ancient times known as the Northern Pillar of Hercules. Since its occupation and fortification by the Moors, in 711, it has always been a first-rate stronghold. A combined English and Dutch fleet captured it, in 1704, and the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) assigned it to England, which nation has held it uninterruptedly since that date.⁵ The entire area of Gibraltar measures only two square miles, while its population numbers 24,093 people, including a garrison of nearly 5000 men. The local revenue and expenditure in 1898 respectively amounted to

to the latter authorities the statutes of Charles I (1625 and 1636) still remain the fundamental basis of their government; cf. also Payne, 196.

¹ For further details of the government of the Crown colonies, cf. Ireland, "Tropical Colonization," 51 et seq., 68.

² Caldecott, 139-140.

³ For list, Caldecott, 163-164.

⁴ Lucas, I, 7.

⁵ Heeren, 178, 182, 283; *supra*, II, 73; for a concise account of Gibraltar cf. article in "Encyclopædia Britannica."

£56,019 and £48,878. Great Britain has of recent years been annually spending about \$1,200,000 to \$1,300,000 additional on the citadel.¹

The Falklands in the South Atlantic consist of some 100 small islands, having a total area of 7500 square miles and a population of 2000. On account of their harsh climate they were long left uninhabited. In 1764 the French fixed a colony on them, which in 1767 was transferred to the Spanish Crown. Meanwhile, in 1766, the English had made a settlement in another locality, from which, in 1770, they were driven by their rivals; subsequently they came back, but after a brief sojourn once more withdrew; the Spaniards then did likewise. In 1820 the government of Buenos Ayres started a community on East Falkland, which was afterward turned over to Great Britain.² In 1833 the present administration was organized. During the nineteenth century, owing to the steady development of the Pacific ports of South America, the Falklands have attained unexpected importance as a relay in the ocean voyage.³ Sheep breeding and wool raising have been found to flourish. Commercially, however, the archipelago is of little value. In 1898 the revenue was £13,039; expenditures, £14,278; imports, £73,987; exports, £106,984.⁴

St. Helena and Ascension, as well as the now desolate rock, Tristan da Cunha, are closely allied in history. The first-named, 47 square miles in area and with a population of 4116 persons, was discovered in 1501 by an expedition of the Portuguese, who held it for about a century; then the Dutch seized it, retaining control until their colonization of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1651. In that year the English East India Company captured it and, after several encounters with

¹For details, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 106. Notwithstanding these recent great expenditures, the importance of Gibraltar as a stronghold has considerably diminished by reason of the improvement made in modern artillery; cf. Dilke, "Problems of Greater Britain," 658.

²For brief history and description of these islands, cf. article in "Encyclopædia Britannica."

³In these days of ocean steamships the value of such conveniently located coaling stations cannot be overlooked.

⁴For statistics, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 238.

the Dutch, succeeded in holding possession.¹ During the eighteenth century this harbor became the chief port of call for British vessels en route to the East;² but after the conquest of the Cape by England it lost this traffic.³ The island must always remain famous as the place to which Bonaparte was exiled and is again being lately brought into prominence as the spot to which England has deported many of the Boer prisoners. The revenue in 1898 was £9152 and the expenditures £12,349; there is not any debt; the exports in 1897 were to the sum of £4391 and the imports £62,985.⁴ Ascension, 35 square miles in area, with a population of 430, was first inhabited by man after Napoleon had taken up his residence on St. Helena. As a precautionary measure against his escape a fort was here built and a garrison established; subsequently the English have kept it as a convenient coaling station.⁵ At the same time as Ascension was occupied, and for the same motive, Great Britain settled and fortified Tristan da Cunha, one of a small group of islands 1200 miles south of St. Helena and 1500 miles from the Cape of Good Hope. After Napoleon's death the reason for owning this lonely outpost having ceased, and the settlement not being self-supporting, the colonial office decided to relinquish it. All the inhabitants who would leave were carried to the Cape; some few, nevertheless, preferred to remain, and about sixty individuals still dwell on these deserted isles, surrounded by the dreary expanse of the ocean.⁶

Aden boasts of romantic annals. As long ago as the epoch of Portuguese supremacy in the Orient, the great admiral and governor-general of these dominions, Albuquerque, in an

¹ *Supra*, II, 73.

² For early history of St. Helena, cf. Raynal, II, 207-210.

³ Since the opening of the Suez Canal the trade of St. Helena has still more decreased, so that now it is merely nominal; cf. "Imperial Institute Year Book" (1894), 170.

⁴ For further statistics, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 216-217. For history and description, article in "Encyclopædia Britannica."

⁵ For Ascension, cf. article in "Encyclopædia Britannica," and "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 180.

⁶ For Tristan da Cunha, *ibid.*

effort to storm it, was repulsed by the Turks. The city, which in the days of the overland caravans had been the centre of Oriental trade, rapidly declined as soon as the all-water route to the East by the Cape of Good Hope was opened. For four hundred years it languished, until the construction of the Suez Canal was destined to restore its ancient prosperity. The English people seem by some instinct to have anticipated the renewed value of this point; for as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century the East India Company was planning to secure it. The Arabs were its masters when, in 1837, a British vessel was wrecked on these shores; the cargo was stolen and the passengers murdered or thrown into slavery. Upon the refusal of the authorities of Aden to grant reparation, an English fleet, in 1839, bombarded and captured the town. It was annexed to the presidency of Bombay and still legally forms part of India, although it has a local administration of the Crown colony type. Since the Suez Canal was inaugurated, Perim, the port, has grown from a poor, mean-looking village to a city of 42,000 inhabitants; situated halfway between Suez and Bombay, it has become a regular coaling station. The British government has also fully recognized its strategic advantages;¹ for vast sums of money during the past twenty years have been expended upon its fortifications, which are now said to be quite equal to those of Gibraltar. The opposite Somali Coast,² measuring 68,000 square miles, the African island of Sokotra, 1382 square miles in area, and the Kuria Muria guano islands are, for practical purposes, subordinate to its jurisdiction. The area of Aden itself is only 75 square miles, but, since it serves as the gateway for a large portion of Arabia, its commerce is considerable; in 1898 the imports aggregated \$9,170,628 and the exports \$7,496,371. The Bahrein Islands, in the Persian Gulf, with a population of 25,000 people, an import trade of

¹ Its chief value indeed is strategic, as one of the stations on Great Britain's long trade route to the East.

² Johnston, "Colonization of Africa," 209, 223; "Imperial Institute Year Book" (1894), 460.

£551,728, and exports of £496,305, are also subject to a British protectorate.¹

The history of the earliest extension of English rule over those regions now known as the Straits Settlements, strictly speaking, belongs to the record of the evolution of British power in India. Originally regarded as simply a military and naval post, and yet so governed, this establishment has developed into one of the most important of the Asiatic colonies.² England first showed interest in this vicinity in 1795, when a British fleet took, from the Dutch, Malacca,³ so long renowned among the cities of the East. The English subsequently occupied the coast districts of the Malay peninsula, and in 1819 selected Singapore,⁴ an island at its southernmost extremity, as the site of the new metropolis. A town was immediately founded which, within eighty years, has become a community of 150,000 souls. The Straits Settlements, as at present constituted, comprise, under the colonial style of administration, Singapore, Penang (including the province Wellesley and the Dindings), Malacca, and some small adjacent islands. Like at the Cape, in South Africa, the British colonial office has proclaimed protectorates over several neighboring native states, for which the governor of the Straits Settlements acts as high commissioner. An English resident-general is also appointed. Perak, Selangor, Pahang, and Negri-Sembilan are under such direction.⁵

The population of the Straits Settlements proper amounts to 512,342 people, mostly Malays, Chinese, and East Indians;

¹ For history and description of Aden and its dependencies, cf. article in "Encyclopædia Britannica"; for recent statistics, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 108-109.

² Rosscher and Jannasch cite Singapore as the most remarkable illustration in the present day of a commercial-colonial station and quote from Sir Stamford Raffles, the founder (p. 180 of his life): "Our object is not territory, but trade; . . . one free port in their seas must eventually destroy the spell of Dutch monopoly," "Colonies and Colonial Policy," 11.

³ Malacca was restored to the Dutch in 1818, but was finally exchanged for Bencoleen in 1824; *supra*, I, 343-344.

⁴ Wallace, "The Malay Archipelago," 16; Lucas, I, 102.

⁵ For the Straits Settlements, cf. "Imperial Institute Year Book" (1894), 483 et seq.; also article in "Encyclopædia Britannica."

the number of white residents is 6500; the area is 1472 square miles; the revenue in 1898 was \$5,071,282, and the expenditures \$4,587,372; the debt on January 1, 1898, reached \$1,298,016, while there were assets of \$3,923,300. The imports in 1898 were valued at \$248,110,547 and the exports at \$212,308,029. Rice, cotton goods, opium, fish, coal, tobacco, and food products are the chief purchases; tin, spices, gambier, gum, copra, rattan, and tapioca form the principal shipments. Singapore is strongly fortified, \$500,000 to \$600,000 being annually spent on its defences.

The condition of the other territories under British suzerainty may be judged from the following figures:—

	AREA SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION 1891	REVENUE 1898	EXPENDITURE 1898	DEBT 1898
Perak	10,000	214,254	\$4,575,842	\$5,560,529	
Selangor . . .	3,500	81,592	3,862,439	4,470,843	
Sungei Ujong .	1,200	23,602	701,334	730,859	\$495,000
Negri Sembilan .	1,800	41,617			
Johore	9,000	200,000			
Pahang	10,000	57,462	224,856	372,719	1,948,702
Total	35,500	618,527			

Export duties on tin are the main source of their revenue.¹

Labuan, off the northwest coast of Borneo, is another centre of British life. The total area of this isle is only 30 square miles and the population does not exceed 6000 individuals; its sole advantage consists in a fine harbor. In 1898 its revenue was £5311, expenditures £6962, exports £79,761, and imports £92,883. The English settlement dates from 1846, when, at the urgent instance of Sir James Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak,²

¹ For further administrative and statistical data, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 171-178.

² "Narrative of events in Borneo and Celebes down to occupation of Labuan, from the 'Journals' of James Brooke, Esq., Rajah of Sarawak and Governor of Labuan, together with a narrative of the operations of H. M. S. *Iris*," by Captain Rodney Mundy, R. N., 2 vols. (London, 1848); also article in *Quarterly*

the Sultan of Brunei presented the island to Great Britain.¹ Until 1890 Labuan was a Crown colony; in that year it was turned over to the British North Borneo Company.²

This same corporation controls those portions of North Borneo which are under British influence, including 31,106 square miles, with 175,000 people. The leading products of this district are tobacco, coffee, and pepper. More than 1,000,000 acres of land are under cultivation. The revenue in 1898 was \$503,307, the expenditures \$387,261, the imports \$2,419,087, and the exports \$2,881,851; tobacco counts for more than one-half of the latter.³

The native states of Brunei, having an area of 15,000 square miles and a population of 45,000, and Sarawak, with 50,000 square miles and 500,000 inhabitants, are likewise under the protection of Great Britain. An Englishman indeed is in his own right Sultan of Sarawak. The story is so extraordinary as to warrant a few words of mention. Sir James Brooke was born in India, in 1803, of English parents; he joined the army, and when yet quite young, was severely wounded. He soon took passage from Calcutta to China, passing through the midst of the islands of the Indian archipelago, naturally beautiful, but infested with pirates, and therefore seldom visited. Brooke then seems to have been inspired by the spirit of adventure, and conceived the scheme which he afterward executed. Upon his return to England he bought a small vessel, enlisted twenty experienced men as his crew, and, in 1838, sailed for the Orient. Disembarking in the country of Sarawak, he combined forces with the legitimate Sultan against his enemies upon the promise that he should be recognized as his lawful heir. Brooke then soon restored order, extirpated the freebooters on land and by sea, and in due time was personally master of the

Review of September, 1848, entitled "Borneo and Celebes," by Earl of Ellesmere.

¹ Martineau, "History of England," IV, 304.

² For Labuan, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 170-171; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1889), 399, and article in "Encyclopædia Britannica."

³ For North Borneo, cf. "Imperial Institute Year Book" (1894), 510 et seq.; also article in "Encyclopædia Britannica"; and "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 110.

entire region.¹ His administration as Rajah was very successful, and upon his death his nephew, the reigning Sir Charles J. Brooke, succeeded him. A few years ago a treaty was negotiated by which England secured a protectorate over Sarawak.²

Hong Kong, the last Crown colony of strategic military and naval importance to be noticed, was ceded by China to England on the latter's demand at the conclusion of the war ending in 1842.³ The island is about 30 square miles in area and has 254,400 inhabitants. Immediately upon its acquisition the English laid out the capital, Victoria, with numerous broad streets and many fine buildings in brick and stone. This city at present numbers 160,000 people, of whom some 10,000 are Europeans and Americans. The colonial government has jurisdiction over all British residents of China; the port is now considered as ranking among fortresses of the first class. On June 9, 1898, Great Britain leased of China for ninety-nine years 400 square miles of the neighboring mainland, including also Mirs Bay and Deep Bay and the island of Lan-too; the population of the district approximates 100,000. The ordinary revenue for 1898 was \$2,672,107; the expenditures, \$2,607,424; and the debt, \$1,664,566; the assets, however, exceeded the liabilities by \$213,358. There is not any custom house, and for that reason not any accurate valuation of the exports and imports can be given; the total trade movement is, however, estimated to be \$30,000,000 per annum.⁴

The rise of the various British naval stations throughout the

¹ For Sir James Brooke, cf. the work of Captain Mundy, cited II, 236, note 2; "Account of Sir J. Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak," by Gertrude Jacob; also article in "Encyclopædia Britannica"; briefly, Martineau, IV, 304-305.

² Cf. "Sarawak, its Inhabitants and its Productions," by Hugh Low (1848); article in "Encyclopædia Britannica"; and "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 111.

³ Treaty of August 26, 1842; Douglass, "China," 221; Walpole, "History of England," VI, 194-198 note; Martineau, IV, 276; McCarthy, "Our Own Times," I, 144.

⁴ For more extended account of Hong Kong, cf. Lucas, I, Ch. V; for statistical and administrative data, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 120-125. Besides "Hong Kong," England also controls in China "Wei-hai-wei" and the adjacent zone by lease of July 1, 1898, for so long a time as Port Arthur shall be held by Russia; cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 179; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1898), 128.

world has thus been briefly described; they are the points at which Great Britain has, during the past century, established garrisons and built fortifications, by means of which, in the event of hostilities, England intends not only to defend her other widely scattered possessions, but even more particularly to maintain open the arteries of her trade; for if the routes of British commerce were even temporarily closed, the United Kingdom would soon feel want; in the event of the obstruction of the highways of communication with the Orient, the stress of poverty and the pangs of starvation would soon be experienced. Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Singapore, and Hong Kong form a group of famous strongholds in which absolute confidence could be placed in time of need; individually, and as a class, they stand unrivalled and unequalled by those of any other nation.

Prior to reverting again to the continent of Africa, where all the remaining Crown colonies are located, it may be permitted to digress long enough to mention the minor British domains in the Pacific: chief among them are the Tonga or Friendly Islands,¹ with an area of 374 square miles and a population of 17,500; and Cook's Islands, comprising 142 square miles and 8400 people; then there are the Manihiki group, the Suvarof Islands, the Union and Phoenix groups, Ellice Islands, the Gilbert Islands, the Solomon Islands, the Santa Cruz and the Duff groups, and the single islands of Christmas, Ducie, Piteairn, Fanning, Malden, Starbuck, Jarvis, Washington, Dudoza, Victoria, and Palmyra. Some of these have been formally annexed, others have been brought only under protection.²

Sierra Leone, Gambia, the Gold Coast, and Lagos³ are situated in close proximity to each other on the west coast of

¹ It should be noted that the British protectorate over the Tonga or Friendly Islands became firmly established by the Treaty of November 14, 1899; by it Great Britain withdrew from Samoa and Germany from the Tonga; cf. "Annual Cyclopædia" (1899), 770 et seq., 817.

² For these scattered islands, cf. "Imperial Institute Year Book"; "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 332-334.

³ For a good account of these colonies, cf. Johnston, "Colonization of Africa."

Africa, and in the precincts of old Guinea, previously so celebrated as the centre of the slave trade; from these districts the majority of negroes in bygone days was drawn. Lagos, as a separate establishment, is of comparatively recent creation, formerly being a part of the Gold Coast administration; it was only in 1888 organized as a Crown colony.¹ The town was once subject to the king of Dahomey, and a principal seat of the traffic in blacks and of human sacrifices. In 1855 it was taken by an English fleet. Lagos proper is a small island off the Slave Coast; with the protectorate of the same name on the mainland the total area is about 1500 square miles, with some 100,000 people. With the Yoruba tract, also under British influence, it embraces more than 21,000 square miles and 3,000,000 inhabitants. The revenue of the entire territory known as Lagos in 1898 was £206,444, and the expenditures £203,803; the imports were £908,351, and the exports £882,329. The number of whites in that locality does not exceed 200 persons.²

Although individual Englishmen have traded on the river of that name for the past two hundred years, it was not until 1888 that the colony of Gambia was fully constituted. It now has approximately an area of 2700 square miles and a population of 200,000, only 62 of whom are white. The revenue in 1898 amounted to £46,718, and the expenditures to £29,035. The imports were valued at £246,092, and the exports at £247,832.³

The Gold Coast has perhaps been longer frequented by Englishmen than any other part of Africa; they were here early in the seventeenth century. Dutch rivals, in 1667, succeeded in capturing their forts, with the exception of Cape Coast Castle. In 1672 the Royal Africa Company⁴ was chartered in London. Competition with the Dutch continued, in a certain degree, until the end of the eighteenth century. The company was dissolved in 1807, and this region, being taken

¹ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1889), 401.

² For history of Lagos, cf. Johnston; article in "Encyclopædia Britannica"; for recent events, "Annual Cyclopædia" (1895-1899), title "West Africa"; for statistics, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 219.

³ For Gambia, consult authorities just cited.

⁴ Johnston, 109.

over by the Crown, was in 1821 annexed to Sierra Leone.¹ The Dutch still retained some outposts in the vicinity until 1872, in which year they ceded them all to England in consideration of more extensive trading privileges throughout the neighborhood. These various districts were again separated, in 1842, for administrative purposes, but in 1866 were once more united under one government, fixed at Free Town (Sierra Leone). In 1874 the Gold Coast was re-created a Crown colony. Its area, together with the adjoining protectorate, includes some 46,000 square miles, and there are 1,500,000 inhabitants, although not more than 500 are Europeans. The revenue in 1898 was £258,821; expenditures, £377,976; imports, £1,101,546; exports, £992,998.²

Attention must now be directed to the West African dependency, which, by reason of its history, is the most interesting. Sierra Leone and, later, Lagos have not been less associated in recent times as the two English colonies of Africa peculiarly connected with the suppression of bondage than Gambia and the Gold Coast formerly were, as the sources whence the slavers secured their human supplies. Lagos, as just noted, was finally seized by the British in 1851, because the king of Dahomey refused to abolish the petty slave traffic of his subjects and their barbarous ceremonies; but the antislavery record of Sierra Leone long antedates that epoch. This latter community was, in fact, founded for the express purpose of providing a refuge for the liberated blacks from every portion of the globe. Granville Sharp,³ an English philanthropist, was the originator of the idea that not only the freed negroes could thus be afforded a comfortable home, but that civilization might also, through their instrumentality, be transplanted into Africa. In 1787 the first settlement was made under the

¹ 1 and 2 George IV, Ch. 28.

² For history of the Gold Coast, cf. Johnston, 104 et seq.; article in "Encyclopædia Britannica"; for recent events, "Annual Cyclopædia" (1895-1899), title "West Africa"; for statistics, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 218-219.

³ Sharp was also the founder of the society for the abolition of the slave trade, Heeren, 353.

auspices of several benevolent Englishmen.¹ This date bears honorable mention; for, even although English traders had for a century previously been pursuing barter and exchange on the Gold Coast and in that vicinity, this establishment is really to be regarded as the earliest effort for colonization, strictly speaking, undertaken by the British on African soil. The same year as the government was sending its first shipload of convicts to Australia,² these ardent spirits were locating a few poverty-stricken blacks in Sierra Leone. These despicable movements were to be the beginnings in the English conquest of the two continents. The negro immigrants were annihilated in 1789 by some unfriendly native neighbors; but Wilberforce, Sharp, and others soon organizing the Sierra Leone Company, Free Town was laid out.³ Disease, the aborigines, and the French combined to retard progress, until finally, in 1807, the Crown intervened. After this event the colony then created became the asylum for freedmen, not only from foreign countries, but from all districts of Africa. The population thus grew very mixed, upward of sixty languages, it is said, being at one time spoken in the capital city.

Little by little increasing in importance, this colony has subsequently become the centre of British power in West Africa;⁴ as already learned, the other possessions of this region, at times annexed to Sierra Leone, have been temporarily brought under its influence and then again detached from it.⁵ The area of its present territories is about 4000 square miles, having, in 1891, 74,835 people, of whom only 224 were whites; but including the portion prior to 1896 under British protection, together with the colony proper, the area was 15,000 square miles, and the population 180,000; in the last-mentioned year the protectorate was declared over a still more extensive tract,

¹ Johnston, 107; Payne, 129, 130, 212; Heeren, 287, 469.

² *Supra*, II, 83, 117.

³ Johnston, 109.

⁴ The trade of this region has more than doubled within the last ten years.

⁵ For the history of Sierra Leone, cf. Lucas, III; Ingham, "Sierra Leone after a Hundred Years"; Johnston, "Colonization of Africa"; "British Africa" (The British Empire Series), chapter entitled "Our West African Colonies," by Sir W. H. Quayle-Jones; and article in "Encyclopædia Britannica."

including 30,000 square miles and 250,000 to 500,000 inhabitants. In 1898 the revenue was £117,682; the expenditures £121,112. The imports were £606,349; and the exports £290,991; the former for all the four West African colonies in 1898 amounted to £2,862,338, and the latter to £2,414,150.¹

The history of the West African dependencies did not until very recently offer any general interest to the student nor any future prospect of prosperity to the statesman.² In earlier days efforts had been chiefly aimed at the suppression of the slave traffic and of the ravages committed by the ferocious tribes, for the most part pagans, and at the best Mohammedan in their belief. Among the natives, the Ashantees were the worst and most persistent foes whom the British had to meet.³ Trade, limited to strictly natural productions, had under these circumstances been pursued with difficulty; while it had been equally impossible to attempt, to any degree, the cultivation of the soil. The climate, reported to be the most insalubrious in the world, was also an insurmountable obstacle to the development of this coast region;⁴ for these colonies are even yet restricted to a comparatively narrow strip of the shore-line.⁵ There was thus a few years ago not any apparent reason to

¹ For further statistical data, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 220. Also "Annual Cyclopædia" (1899), 854.

² Payne, writing in 1889, said: "They still exchange considerable quantities of raw produce with the English market, but it is not likely that they will ever grow beyond the proportions of small trading settlements," "European Colonies," 212.

³ It is with the Ashantees that war has again been waged in 1900 for the possession of the golden stool, the object of their veneration and worship.

⁴ Caldecott, 113.

⁵ The physical features of Africa are such that colonization has been restricted until the last quarter of a century to narrow coast settlements. Broad shore plains do not exist nor are there any great navigable rivers. In general, the interior is a vast plateau, the edge of which approaches quite near to the sea, where the descent is abrupt. The few watercourses by which the country might otherwise have been opened to exploration and settlement plunge over this abyss and form the falls of the Zambesi, the Congo, and the Nile. These cataracts impose an effective bar to navigation, and form one of the great causes which have rendered Africa for so many centuries an unknown land, — a veritable "Dark Continent." Only in recent years are these obstacles being overcome by artificial means, such as railroads and canals.

anticipate their further growth; they had been stagnating for three-quarters of a century, and the opportunity for modification in their condition seemed remote.

The calm of previous decades might still have prevailed had not another state—a new aspirant for colonial honors—manifested, about 1883, a decided intention to enter the lists, and by a simple course of logic concluded that certain sections of West and East Africa afforded the fields freest to modern enterprise. The nation was Germany.¹ It is almost the first occasion in this treatise to mention the name of the German people; the circumstances which had heretofore hindered them from colonization and the motives which now urged them forward in their endeavors will be subsequently outlined.² In Africa the connection between cause and effect is evident; German explorers had penetrated inland and German merchants had traded along the seaboard; considerable territorial areas were there unoccupied and undefined, and the German government was beginning to fix its eyes upon these places as suitable for settlement under its auspices. France, also, which had long had vast claims in the Dark Continent, was showing distinct signs of a desire to increase her domain. Italy, likewise, was stirring in the East; and as the event proved, even such small kingdoms as Belgium and Portugal were meditating the acquisition of certain districts. It is therefore not surprising that the British were similarly influenced. The spirit of rivalry in colonization was again rife in the eighties, and one of the objective spheres of action was West Africa.³

The resolution of the English Crown found expression in the organization of the British Royal Niger Company, in 1886; two years after the invasion by Germany of Togoland and the Cameroons this corporation, originally formed in 1882, was chartered. Henceforth another era in West Africa opened. The great interior highlands between the river Niger and Lake Tchad had been discovered to be more healthy and richer than

¹ Johnston, 248 et seq.

² *Post*, Ch. XXVII.

³ Caldecott, 118 et seq.; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1896), 757-761.

the coasts; consequently, to obtain control of them there was to be sharp competition. Effective occupation, adopted as the principle of international law, involved preliminary military conquest. All this district was at once the arena of intense activity. It is not the purpose here to recite the details of this movement, for at the best not much has yet been accomplished for actual colonization; but a region for development has nevertheless been surveyed, wherein the energy of the nations engaged will undoubtedly be strongly and efficiently exerted during the twentieth century; to this extent, then, the partition of these domains merits attention as containing abundant promise for the future. England and her representatives have not been backward in this latest emergency. At the very outset the British Royal Niger Company sent its agents among the native chiefs and had negotiated with them, prior to 1887, some three hundred treaties, by which English prestige was rendered more secure throughout the basins of the Niger, the Benue, the Borgu, and the Sokoto.¹

The Berlin African Conference of 1885 took the first steps to adjust the conflicting claims of European states by fixing some standard in accordance with which an amicable division of the West African territories could be made;² subsequently, in 1886, the British government reached an agreement with Germany, and in 1890 with France,³ by which the boundaries of their respective spheres of influence were defined; afterward, in 1893⁴ and in 1898,⁵ the conventions between these powers were remodelled in more exact terms.⁶ Nevertheless, many

¹ For further details, cf. Johnston, 117-118; Dilke, "Problems of Greater Britain," 456; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1897), 815 et seq.; "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 210.

² For history of this Conference, cf. "Annual Cyclopædia" (1884), 170; (1885), 189 et seq.; the text of this convention may be found in Martens and Cussy, "Recueil des Traités," II série, vol. III, 606.

³ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1890), 386; (1893), 329.

⁴ For the text of the Convention of 1893 between Great Britain and Germany, "Annual Cyclopædia" (1893), 350.

⁵ For the negotiations between Great Britain and France, "Annual Cyclopædia" (1898), 829 et seq.

⁶ For the actual boundaries, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 209, : map at beginning of that volume.

questions yet remained in suspense—and some are still unsettled—to determine accurately the frontiers. Much depends upon the construction of the compacts executed by the local potentates, upon their prerogative to alienate their own rights, upon the real authority which they in fact exercise, as well as upon the extent of their realms. Sometimes the same chieftain has given similar guarantees to two different claimants; again, one of these native sovereigns, asserting his superiority over numerous petty rulers, has consented to a contract with one nation for his possessions; while perhaps one of his subordinates, affected by this arrangement, but repudiating his pretensions, has entered into a bargain with another country. Any such rivalry is exaggerated by all parties in the desire to reap some advantage. Even the delimitation treaties are vague, very frequently referring to conditions which are not clearly known; as, for instance, the instrument signed by the French and English cabinets, in which it was stipulated that the Niger Company's acquisitions should include "all that fairly belongs to the kingdom of Sokoto"; but, as the area of that empire was not certain, the line of demarcation was to be run by commissioners to be appointed. Hence, even yet, the results achieved are only approximate, although greater precision is gradually being attained through the work of special boards and by more explicit negotiations.¹

The subjugation of the aborigines is a Herculean task; for the past several years warfare has constantly existed in the districts occupied by Great Britain. The Niger Company, naturally desirous to control business throughout its own domains, while allowing the natives to trade on their own account, has imposed many regulations repugnant to them. The tariff of duties, imposts, and tolls, elaborated with the design of drawing a revenue from mercantile transactions, has been of little benefit; for, to avoid its provisions, smuggling, annually involving an approximate loss of \$150,000, has

¹ A very good review of the progress made in recent years in the delimitation of European possessions in "West Africa" can be found under that title in the "Annual Cyclopædia" (1895-1899).

been habitually practised. The continual efforts of the Company to repress this contraband traffic, although partially successful, have repeatedly plunged it into strife. The most recent troubles have been with King Koko of Brass, in the region of that name, who urged the traders to resistance; with the emir of Nupe, a powerful Mohammedan prince on the Middle Niger, who refused to acknowledge any foreign sovereignty; and with the Mendis, Timanis, and other tribes of the Sierra Leone Protectorate.¹

The chief instrument of authority in West Africa was until 1898 the British Royal Niger Company. The acquisitions directly under the management of the corporation were then claimed to have an area of 500,000 square miles, with a population varying between 25,000,000 and 40,000,000 people. The exports in 1893 were valued at £406,000; they consisted of gum, hides, palm kernels, oil, rubber, and ivory. Besides the territories under its sway there was also under British influence the Niger Coast Protectorate, embracing the Oil River district, and a tract withdrawn from the company's jurisdiction. The exports of these latter states were, in 1898-1899, £774,648, and the imports £732,640; the former are mostly palm oil and kernels, rubber, ivory, fine woods, hides, and cocoa. The revenue was £169,568; the expenditures, £146,752. The administration of the protectorate is confided to an imperial commissioner, who, together with a military guard, resides at the native capital.²

The Royal Niger Company, with its £1,000,000 stock, was originally in high favor in England; but its methods—especially the restrictions which it placed upon commerce—excited not less indignation at home than hostility in Africa.³ The merchants of Liverpool, who had previously long dealt in this vicinity, vigorously criticised the scale of export duties

¹For details of these troubles, cf. article "West Africa," in "Annual Cyclopædia" (1896-1899).

²For further statistics, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 210-212. "Annual Cyclopædia" (1899), 853.

³"Annual Cyclopædia" (1889), 402; (1890), 405 et seq., and subsequent volumes.

by which practically a monopoly was retained. Already, in 1889, upon their urgent representations, the Benue and lower Niger basins had been detached from the Company's grant and intrusted to a newly organized corporation called the African Association; its capital, not all however paid in, is fixed at £2,000,000.¹ The British cabinet finally realized, in 1897, that the disappearance of the Niger Company from African politics and trade would be an advantage to English interests. The wars waged in the Dark Continent, the exclusion of independent firms, and the prejudice to friendly relations with foreign powers caused by unauthorized aggressions, decided the government to negotiate for the surrender of the charter. The desired object was achieved in 1898, when the possessions under the control of the society were transferred to the Crown.² Subsequently, the name of Nigeria has been adopted for this entire region, which, for reasons of policy, has been divided into two districts, respectively known as Northern and Southern Nigeria. A suitable form of rule for the extensive dominions thus immediately taken under the supervision of the British colonial office is now being elaborated.³

The first movement of the English in East Africa is, like their recent expansion on the west coast, attributable to the *spur of rivalry*. The Germans had created a trading company, had made treaties with certain native chiefs of the remoter localities, and had also obtained, from the sultan of Zanzibar, a lease, for fifty years, of the customs as well as of the harbors and shores south of the Wanga, including all the caravan routes,⁴ when the English were aroused to action. In April, 1888, the Germans had secured their concessions; in the following September the British East Africa Company was chartered.⁵ The respective spheres of influence of Eng-

¹ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1890), 406.

² *Ibid.* (1897), 816-817; (1898), 832.

³ For particulars, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 210-212. "Annual Cyclopædia" (1899), 853.

⁴ Johnston, 254; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1888), 374; (1890), 269.

⁵ *Ibid.* (1890), 271.

land and Germany in the interior had been described, in 1886, by treaty, and at the same time a strip of land on the coast, ten miles in width, had been recognized as belonging to the sultan; it was over the southern portion of this last tract that the Germans had acquired sway by their lease; their aim was to work inland through their delimited field, beyond it, into the unpartitioned, more distant territories, and thus, if possible, reach the great lakes of Central Africa prior to the arrival of the English. The occupation of the seaboard, it was believed, would be of material benefit in facilitating the passage of the Company's agents and the transportation of merchandise to and from the higher lands.¹

Zanzibar had for some time previously been under the nominal protection of Great Britain, although not any actual intervention had occurred. The entrance of Germany into these domains was therefore considered a serious menace to English prestige. The lately incorporated British East Africa Company, resolving to offset these efforts, at once procured privileges, similar to those granted its competitor, over the northern section of the coast-line. Owing to some differences of opinion between the various powers a treaty was, in 1890, concluded, which settled outstanding questions and more fully fixed the English, German, and Italian boundaries. Italy had already, in 1882, established herself to the north of the region held by England. By this convention the mainland possessions of the sultan were definitely distributed among the contracting parties, his authority being limited to the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, over both of which an English protectorate was duly acknowledged.²

The native state of Uganda was the most important acquisition which by the arrangement of 1890 fell under the rule of the East Africa Company.³ With the tributary districts,

¹ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1890-1893), title "East Africa."

² Johnston, 257; for the negotiations and text of treaty, "Annual Cyclopædia" (1890), 271-273; also "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 194. "Annual Cyclopædia" (1899), 250.

³ For Uganda, "Annual Cyclopædia" (1891), 264-266; (1892), 242-244; (1893), 271-274.

its area amounts to some 120,000 square miles, and its population to about 4,000,000 people.¹ The burden thus imposed, accompanied by the necessity of supporting a considerable armed force, taxed the resources of the Company beyond its strength; so that finally, in 1893, Uganda was surrendered to the Crown, which at once extended its sovereignty over it.² The lands then remaining to the Company embraced the country immediately bordering on the sea and that between Uganda and the lakes. Over these smaller tracts the corporation continued to exercise its jurisdiction until July 1, 1895, when, upon relinquishing its charter, it was dissolved;³ its indebtedness was heavy, and the stockholders were reimbursed only a trifle more than fifty per cent of their original investment.⁴ The strip which had been leased was then redeemed by the sultan of Zanzibar for \$1,000,000, but his subsequent ownership was to be merely theoretical,⁵ for the British at once consolidated it with their protectorate over Uganda.⁶ It is remarkably apparent how short-lived both the East and West Africa companies have been, and how, in a brief period of time, the English cabinet has been obliged, for national convenience and by circumstances, to assume control of their respective territories.⁷

In Uganda proper the government has, by the maintenance of an adequate number of troops, held the inhabitants in subjection; the 1898 mutiny of the native auxiliaries employed in the vicinity of the lakes formed the first serious resistance,⁸ but, in the more remote regions, war, to bring the tribes living along the Nile and its confluent under discipline, has been

¹ "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 197.

² "Annual Cyclopædia" (1892), 243; (1893), 270.

³ *Ibid.* (1895), 238.

⁴ *Ibid.* (1897), 286.

⁵ *Ibid.* (1895), 238.

⁶ *Ibid.* (1896), 250-251; subsequently this region has been again divided into the Uganda and East Africa Protectorates; cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 195-196.

⁷ For East Africa and Uganda, cf. works cited in Bibliography, especially "British Africa," chapter entitled "East Africa Protectorate," by Henry S. Newman, and "Uganda," by Major-General Sir Colville.

⁸ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1897), 287; (1898), 230-233.

of late years continual. Africans are, for the most part, employed in these expeditions.¹

The peace of Zanzibar has been only once violently disturbed since 1891, the date of the inauguration of the protectorate. In 1896 the sultan, who, three years previously, had been raised to the throne by British influence, suddenly died. His cousin, Khalid, the defeated candidate of 1893, again aspiring to the succession, forthwith took up his abode in the palace, usurped the reins of office, and sent a message of defiance to the resident. Several English men-of-war, which were in the neighborhood, promptly bombarding the city of Zanzibar, seized possession of it, and within two days had a more tractable prince installed. Khalid, escaping and going on board a German warship, was conveyed to a place of refuge on the east coast. The aid thus afforded him afterward led to lengthy diplomatic correspondence between the two interested powers.²

On February 1, 1892, Zanzibar was declared a free port, and its trade is now considerable. The imports in 1898 amounted to £1,555,070 in value, and the exports to £1,497,883; the leading articles among the latter are ivory, cloves, copra, rubber, gums, hides, and chillies; of the former — especially the peculiar gray cloth so much used in Africa for currency — the United States supplies a large share. The area of the island of Zanzibar is 640 square miles; of the island of Pemba, 380 square miles; their respective population is 150,000 and 50,000 inhabitants. The capital town of Zanzibar has about 30,000 people.³

The most memorable event occurring in recent years is the final abolition of slavery. Already, in 1873, the sultan had, by treaty with England, suppressed the traffic;⁴ in 1890 a further arrangement promised the slaves better care and more humane treatment; at the same time, by royal proclamation,

¹ For the latest incidents, cf. "Annual Cyclopædia" (1899), 252 et seq.

² For these events, cf. "Annual Cyclopædia" (1896), 250-252.

³ For other details, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 197-199. For history and description, "British Africa," chapter entitled "The Protectorate of Zanzibar," by Rev. Walter K. Firminger.

⁴ Johnston, 100.

their transfer by any method other than by direct descent in the family of the owner was forbidden. Through the operation of natural causes and this last measure their numbers were, in 1896, greatly reduced. The pressure of the English public on the government to effect emancipation ultimately became too strong to be resisted, so at last, on February 10, 1897, the sultan was advised to take that step. The requisite decree was issued on April 6, 1897, leaving masters without any right to enforce claims over their former slaves, urging the liberation of the latter, and guaranteeing an indemnity upon proper presentation of the facts to the judicial authorities.¹

Great Britain has, since May 14, 1891, exercised control over the African lake region, once known as Nyassaland, but now called the British Central Africa Protectorate.² The imperial commissioner, who, under the supervision of the foreign office, is in charge, resides at Blantyre, the chief town. The area of this district is 42,217 square miles; the population is said to be 900,000 natives, 377 Europeans, and 250 East Indians. In 1899 the imports were £99,290, the exports £35,623 in value. The latter are chiefly ivory, coffee, and tobacco; the former mostly cotton, machinery, provisions, hardware, and farming implements.³ Much good agricultural land exists. The administration has always been conducted on a very high standard; the aborigines have been encouraged to thrift and industry, and this policy has resulted in their complete pacification. The remaining portion of Central Africa, otherwise Northern Rhodesia, with its 251,000 square miles in area and 650,000 inhabitants, is, as elsewhere described, under the jurisdiction of the South Africa Company.⁴

Brief notice of Egypt must suffice. Politically the situation is complex; nominally a monarchy tributary to the Sultan of

¹ For the details of this abolition of slavery, cf. "Annual Cyclopædia" (1897), 286-287.

² *Ibid.* (1892), 244; (1894), 247; (1895), 240; (1896), 252; (1897), 288; (1898), 109.

³ For further details, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 193-194; for history and description of this region, cf. "British Africa," chapter entitled "British Central Africa," by Miss A. Werner.

⁴ *Supra*, II, 191 et seq.; "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 214-215.

Turkey, this country may now perhaps in reality be regarded as a dependency of the British Crown, whose tenure is nevertheless professed by English statesmen to be only temporary. National bankruptcy, the abdication of the Khedive, and the military revolt of 1882 were incidents which furnished Great Britain the excuse to intervene.¹ After a short conflict an English army entered Cairo, and since January 18, 1883, England is represented by a member in the Khedive's cabinet. This official, designated Financial Adviser to the Egyptian government, in that capacity is not only invested with the right of veto over any distasteful monetary propositions, but furthermore exerts a powerful influence on all administrative acts.² In 1884 the Soudan and the equatorial province were evacuated.³ Prior to that time the total area of Egypt amounted to 1,406,250 square miles, having a population of 16,952,000 people; its present extent is 385,000 square miles with 9,734,405 inhabitants. In the abandoned districts of the Upper Nile the struggle against the dervishes under the Mahdi and the Khalifa has been fierce and prolonged. Khartoum, Dongola, and Omdurman will always be names recalling famous battles in Egyptian history. The events of 1898 and 1899 have aided the rapid restoration of authority over the tribes of this locality.⁴

Whether the British forces are to be withdrawn from Egypt or whether the day will ever arrive when the Khedive may be able to maintain a self-sustaining administration are problems of the future; but it is evident that the retention of its ascendancy is the natural and desirable end to be kept in view by Great Britain. The control of the Suez Canal is a paramount object. For England, with its manifold interests in India and the farther Orient, the occupation of the

¹ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1882), 232-255.

² For the history of Egypt and present conditions, cf. works mentioned in Bibliography; briefly, "Annual Cyclopædia" for recent years.

³ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1883), 298-302; (1884), 285, and subsequently in every volume.

⁴ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1898), 237-239; (1899), 258 et seq.; "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 1140-1141.

country through which this great waterway flows would, in case of general hostilities, be of vast value. Economically the condition of Egypt in 1899 was: revenue £ E11,415,000 and expenditures £ E10,254,000. The public debt at the end of 1898 amounted to £103,444,580 sterling. The imports in 1899 were £ E11,431,800 and the exports £ E15,351,908 (exclusive of specie in both instances). Cotton forms five-sixths of the latter; other articles are sugar, beans, onions, hides, wool, and wheat. Of the imports one-third come from the United Kingdom, and of the exports one-half go thither.¹

Cyprus, so celebrated in history, and technically, like Egypt, a portion of the old Ottoman Empire, has since June 4, 1878, been tributary to English rule; at that date provisionally ceded to Great Britain by the Porte,² it has subsequently been held and administered by British representatives.³ The area of the island is 3584 square miles, and its population included in 1891 209,286 people. The revenue in 1898-1899 was £210,284, and the expenditure £132,973; there is not any debt. The imports in 1898 reached £288,258 and the exports £243,687. The protectorate is in the hands of a high commissioner and a legislative council of eighteen members, twelve of whom are elected.⁴ Although considerable sums have in recent years been expended for improvements and education, Cyprus has made only fair progress.⁵

¹ For further statistics and other data, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 1122-1143; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1898, 1899), title "Egypt."

² "Annual Cyclopædia" (1878), 231-235, 259; (1881), 336-337.

³ Hertslet, "Map of Europe by Treaty," IV, 2722; article "Cyprus," in "Encyclopædia Britannica," and works cited in Bibliography.

⁴ Lucas, I, 39 et seq.

⁵ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1889), 397-398; (1895), 340; (1897), 372; (1898), 316; for statistics, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 118-120.

CHAPTER XXV

LATER ENGLISH COLONIZATION IN EAST INDIA

INDIA, in extent, is far larger than any one other English possession except Canada, and in the number of its inhabitants approximately fourteen times as populous as all the British colonies.¹ Without examining further statistics, its value to the people of the United Kingdom can be at once appreciated. Because of the magnitude of the interests there centred, India to-day enjoys the unique distinction of being ruled jointly under the same Crown as Great Britain and Ireland; for this empire, it must not be forgotten, although a dependency, has passed beyond the colonial stage, and is, in many details, governed like an independent state. The form of its administration is peculiarly anomalous. When, in a previous chapter, the history of these regions was, at the close of the eighteenth century, suspended, Parliament had just passed Mr. Pitt's bill, which rendered these vast territories, in every respect save trade, directly amenable to the home authorities.² A board of control over the East India Company had been established; its president was a member of the British cabinet, while the commander-in-chief of the forces in India was thenceforth appointed by the Crown.³ The supervision of mercantile transactions was alone left in the hands of the corporation, which was then in financial embarrassment, owed immense debts, and was under heavy obligations to the state, while the management of its affairs was costly.⁴ It was therefore not

¹ *Supra*, II, 87, 89. For further detailed statistics, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 128-135; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1899), 376 et seq.

² *Supra*, II, 71-72.

³ Lyall, 188-189; Mill, IV, 395; Auber, II, 1-25.

⁴ In 1785 the books of the Company showed its indebtedness had increased during Hastings' term by £12,500,000, while the annual expenses were then

entirely without a certain feeling of greater security that its stockholders viewed official intervention.

Lord Cornwallis, who in 1786 succeeded the notorious Warren Hastings, was the first under the new régime to combine in his own person the two offices of governor-general and commander-in-chief; his term expired in 1793.¹ Although undertaking the post with the determination to restore peace and to maintain amicable relations with the natives, he was, nevertheless, engaged in perpetual hostilities.² Still, wherever his government was recognized, he inaugurated an intelligent, conciliatory policy, coupled with that quality formerly so rare—honesty. While achieving for England splendor in the East, he could not, within a few years, in spite of judicial and financial reforms, ameliorate to any degree existing local conditions; the people of India remained a poverty-stricken, down-trodden, oppressed race.³ The finances of the Company, on the other hand, did not improve;⁴ for at the end of the eighteenth century its indebtedness was enormous and was yet to increase.⁵ The charter had in

larger than the income, Rosscher and Jannasch, 279; Mill, IV, 442 et seq.; Auber, II, 46.

¹ *Ibid.* II, 45-132, 395-405. Lord Cornwallis again, in 1797, consented to go out to India, although eventually he did not. Subsequently, in 1804, he was in fact reappointed to the chief command. He reentered upon his duties July 31, 1806, but died the following October 5, Martineau, I, 161-163.

² Hunter, "The Indian Empire," 462, 463. "Parliamentary control was assumed with the direct intention of preventing conquest for dominion and establishing peace. Yet Lord Cornwallis found himself obliged to prepare for hostilities almost immediately after his arrival at Calcutta. . . . The immediate consequence of bringing India under direct parliamentary control was to stimulate, not to slacken, the expansion of our territory. . . . It is historically certain that a period of unprecedented war and conquest began when the Crown succeeded the Company in the supreme direction of Indian affairs." — LYALL, 203, 204, 205; Walpole, VI, 74.

³ For an idea of the distress which prevailed in India at this time, cf. Cantu, XI, 321 et seq. Not any comparison in respect to the treatment of the natives is, however, to be made between the Dutch and English East India Companies. The rule of the latter was infinitely preferable. Cf. Rosscher and Jannasch, 289.

⁴ Walpole, VI, 73; Cunningham, 593.

⁵ In 1815 the total indebtedness was £22,353,000; in 1820, £26,158,000; in 1835, £31,326,000, R. and J. 279; cf. also Auber, II, 166, 178, 339, 603. *Supra*, II, 255, note 4.

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¹ *Supra*, II, 87, 89. For further detailed statistics, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 128-135; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1899), 376 et seq.

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⁴ In 1785 the books of the Company showed its indebtedness had increased during Hastings' term by £12,500,000, while the annual expenses were then

Hastings left India, in 1823, the British dominated practically the whole peninsula; and it must also be remembered that after 1815 they were not only the real occupants, but the legally installed lords, of Ceylon and Mauritius¹—both natural outposts of the Indian Empire. On the mainland the peace of 1826 with the Burmese resulted in the cession of extensive territories and the payment of \$5,000,000 as an indemnity.² Beyond this point it hardly seems necessary to trace the military history of this region. The fact was already well recognized in Europe that Great Britain was to be the sole master of India; to impress the realization of their inevitable destiny upon the inhabitants required time; the Afghan, the Scinde, the Gwalior, the Sikh, and the second Burmese war had to be waged.³ Cabul, Gwalior, Lahore, and Rangoon were to be taken before it might be said that British authority was firmly established (1856), and the mutiny of the native troops (1857-1858)⁴ was to be crushed before the East Indians were convinced that their latest conquerors could not be expelled.⁵

This era of strife was fortunately tempered by strenuous efforts on the part of the Company, under the direction of the Board of Control, to introduce various improvements into the civil administration. The appointment of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck⁶ as governor-general marks the close of the period more or less substantially military in character, as likewise the opening of the epoch of economic and social reform. When, in 1828, he went out from England, the British realm

an invading and intriguing neighbor, Lord Wellesley installed a government, subject to control in matters of state importance, and compelled the government to make a perpetual treaty, by the terms of which it was agreed that a political resident and a certain armed force under British command should be maintained at the expense of the tributary state." — MARTINEAU, I, 146-147.

¹ *Supra*, II, 224-229.

² Lyall, 266.

³ For some account of the period between 1833 and 1845, cf. Martineau, IV, 280-304, 490-491.

⁴ For the mutiny at some length, cf. Walpole, 276-324; Hunter, "The Indian Empire," 488 et seq.; McCarthy, III, 43-98.

⁵ For a series of small maps showing the gradual growth of England's possessions in India, cf. Caldecott, 62-64.

⁶ For Bentinck's administration, cf. Hunter, 475-476; Auber, II, 603-656,

in the peninsula was already constituted. Henceforth the predominant problem was the inauguration and perpetuation of a satisfactory system of self-control in local affairs, coupled with the construction of many seriously needed public works, the development of commerce, and, above all, the assurance of justice to the subject races at the hands of duly accredited agents and other resident Englishmen. The achievement of the last-mentioned aim was perhaps as difficult as it was desirable. English traders, and especially petty functionaries, had so long regarded the people as natural objects of extortion and oppression, that it was far from an easy task to change deep-rooted prejudices, on the one side, of disdain, on the other, of hatred. One of the first and most significant ameliorations effected by Governor Bentinck consisted in the liberty of the press, to which the right of passing criticism on subordinate officials was thus guaranteed. Police methods were also revised and instructions issued to pay proper respect to native customs. These three measures were supplemented by a variety of other innovations as enlightened as practical in execution.¹ When Bentinck left India, in 1835, an important forward step had been taken in the application of a progressive policy. The theory of peace had been adopted with decided success; further aggrandizement for the sake of empire was not considered. Wars were still to be fought, but they were to be merely incidental to the maintenance of order. The great work of the future was to be the elaboration of an administrative organization, as complete, adequate, and just in its details, as complex, efficient, and splendid in its entirety, over the hundreds of millions dwelling in India.

While the East India Company was thus, during the first third of the nineteenth century, making speed both in military conquests and in political reforms, it was itself suffering, at the hands of Parliament, very material alterations in its own inherent constitution. It has already been repeatedly remarked how, financially, the position of this association was rapidly becoming aggravated, and how this situation, together

¹ Leroy-Beaulieu, 656-657.

with other well-founded complaints, was rendering its term of existence more and more precarious. Until 1814 Mr. Pitt's bill of 1783 remained, without essential modification, the basis of its immunities and obligations; for, notwithstanding pecuniary embarrassments, this corporation was still an effective instrument of rule in those trying times; from a national standpoint it was performing a praiseworthy task in subjugating the Indian states;¹ it was accomplishing that which, if not done by it, would have caused the Crown vast expenditures, and which, in the prevailing conditions of European conflict, would have perchance been impossible. For these reasons the government was not then inclined to impose upon the Company further restriction in its activities, while the masses were too deeply engrossed in the prosecution of their own struggle against Napoleon to take note of the excesses and atrocities practised in India. Thus tolerated and neglected, the society continued undisturbed to follow its old career, being only nominally advised by the Board of Control placed over it. When, again, in 1813, the day for the renewal of its powers once more arrived, a prolongation of authority was again secured by the sacrifice of its exclusive mercantile privileges.² The new charter granted for another period of twenty years stipulated that all vessels, to whomsoever belonging, and not exceeding three hundred and fifty tons' burden, should, upon the payment of a certain license, have the liberty of trading with the East Indies.³ This measure belongs to the same era as the act for the abolition of the slave traffic.⁴ The loss of

¹ Walpole places a high estimate on the work done by the East India Company, "History of England," VI, 68.

² Ilbert, "Government of India," 75. How this result was achieved almost solely through the efforts of Mr. William Rathbone, a merchant of Liverpool, cf. Martineau, I, 409. It is to be especially noted that all the antislavery leaders of the period — Wilberforce and others — were bitter opponents of the East India Company, Caldecott, 83.

³ 53 George III, Ch. 155; Auber, II, 488-499. One other important provision at this time was the introduction of the episcopacy, perhaps better of Christianity, into India.

⁴ The withdrawal of the Company's monopoly was at once beneficially felt in England, where the prices of various Oriental products immediately fell. Subsequently, in 1833-1835, when the tea trade was opened, the effect was

its monopoly was, however, fully compensated to the association by the collection of the proposed tax; for within ten years its official reports showed a distinct profit arising from this provision for freedom of commerce, and all its other ancient prerogatives were still unimpaired.

By the wars of the early part of the century the British domains had been considerably increased; India itself, as the logical result of the campaigns of two decades, was decidedly larger in area and was still destined to further immediate territorial development. The Cape of Good Hope and Australia were likewise acquisitions of vast importance. Naturally the eyes and the reflections of the English people began, therefore, to turn to the Orient; when once set in that direction their gaze was daily more penetrating and their opinion constantly more decisive. Among the objects to which special attention was first devoted was the East India Company. Just prior to the outbreak of the French Revolution the trial of Warren Hastings, as the scapegoat of that corporation, had aroused the indignation of all the United Kingdom against the iniquities of its rule;¹ he escaped legal punishment, but the declaration of his innocence did not lessen the horror of the crimes charged to its account, nor relieve it of their opprobrium; fortunate for it was the political convulsion of Europe. During the troublous times of 1789 to 1815 public thought had temporarily been withdrawn from these discussions. Had not the violence of popular prejudice in England been submerged in a greater topic, the organization would undoubtedly have been dissolved in 1793;² again, in 1813, when another charter was conceded,³ the nation was still distracted under the dread influence of Napoleon; but when hostilities on the Continent were finally closed and permanent peace was once more established Englishmen philosophically

magical. The quantity imported rapidly increased, owing to the extension in its use. Cf. McCulloch, "Commercial Dictionary," 1229 et seq.; article "Tea," especially Sec. III, relating to the East India Company's monopoly of the trade.

¹ Later impartial investigation tends to free Hastings from the charges made against him, Lyall, 188.

² Auber, II, 135.

³ *Supra*, II, 260.

resumed the thread of their domestic affairs where some twenty-five years previously their consideration had been interrupted.

The latest instrument conferring powers upon the Company was to expire in 1833; already, long before that date, an energetic debate was in progress relative to the disposition then to be made of it.¹ In the case of the real colonies it has been seen what changes this same epoch brought forth: how Canada was aspiring to responsible government; how Australia was emerging from the condition of a penal settlement; and how the West Indies were passing through the slavery abolition crisis. These scattered colonists were, in a sense, fighting their own battles, but the British themselves were demanding justice for the oppressed natives of India. This plea for fair treatment was nevertheless not entirely devoid of more material motives.² The very magnitude of the corporate interests was a cause for jealousy on the side of the authorities, while its recognized preponderance in the Eastern trade was a reason for hatred on the part of commercial rivals. Hence the philanthropists in their wish to liberate India were most ably seconded by all those merchants outside of the corporation, and even by the state.³ The only question was how to attain the desired aim, to secure for the Crown a complete cession of the territory, to obtain for competitors a division of business, and to achieve for the humanitarians an assurance of the freedom of the Indian peoples; and these ends must be peaceably and legally accomplished without any serious infraction of vested rights.

The Company was not ignorant of national sentiment nor indifferent to the harm which might be caused to its own concerns; it therefore loudly proclaimed that the moment suitable for the adoption of a new policy was at hand; and, as if to anticipate the execution of public vengeance, Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, when named in 1828 as governor-gen-

¹ Hansard (3d series), XVIII, 698-780; XIX, 155-210; XX, 14-15, 308-324.

² "Annual Register" (1830), 64.

³ The public generally took a keen interest in this movement; cf. Martineau, III, 339-343.

eral, was expressly instructed to inaugurate reforms. Who can fail to see in the amelioration of Indian administration undertaken at this time an attempt to appease the prevailing agitation in England? Five years before the expiration of its charter, under the pressure of fear that further favors might be refused, the Company declared its intention to cease its old practices and to modify its conduct; and in this endeavor, it cannot be denied, the government, through the Board of Control, made profession of official support. Thus, in 1833, when the request for the renewal of privileges was presented, Bentinck was in India and the era of innovations had actually opened; but Parliament had already, three years previously, begun its efforts finally to determine the long-persisting problem.¹

The internal organization of the East India Company was in 1830 still that of a close corporation. Its original capital had been increased to \$30,000,000; the stock was salable, and, while of course the number of shareholders was continually fluctuating, there usually were some 3500 of them. In 1833 the stock was worth about 250. One thousand pounds of it entitled the possessor to one, £3000 to two, £6000 to three, and £10,000 or more to four votes in the general meetings; twelve months' ownership was the necessary preliminary to any participation in corporate affairs. Prior to 1834 merchants and traders formed the larger proportion of the membership. Regular quarterly assemblies were held, when those having over £500 invested were allowed to be present, but only such as held more than £1000 were permitted to cast a ballot.

The Board of Directors consisted of twenty-four persons, six being annually elected to serve each for a term of four years; those retiring were not eligible for reelection until after a period of one year out of office. Members were obliged to own at least £2000 of stock. Their annual salary was £500; that of the chairman, £1000. The Board chose its own chairman and vice-chairman, and was divided into three committees, the one

¹ Hansard (2d series), XXII, 248-264; "Annual Register" (1830), 64-68; Auber, II, 658-713.

on finance and administration, the other on politics and war, and the third on justice and legislation. The special committee on secret service, made up of the chairman, the vice-chairman, and the senior director, handled all matters of state, or of a delicate nature, and acted as intermediary between the Board of Control and the directory. If required, or if it judged fit, it might transmit any despatch or instruction to officials of the Company without consulting the full Board. The directors met at least weekly for the transaction of business. Their principal power resided in the patronage subject to their distribution. The selection of all the functionaries in India — except judges, bishops, and military officers — was at their disposal. The Crown reserved to itself the nominations to the high posts on the bench, in the church, and in the army, and likewise its approbation in the appointment of the governor-general.¹

The Board of Control, created by Mr. Pitt's measure, was at first composed of six members; subsequently it was enlarged to "a suitable number," which varied from time to time. The salary of its president was £3500 per annum; there were two secretaries, designated by Parliament, at an annual compensation of £1500 each, and numerous other employees. All expenses, limited not to exceed £26,000 yearly, were payable by the Company.²

Preceding the era of reforms, India was, for administrative purposes, partitioned into four districts: Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and Agra. The governor-general lived at Calcutta, the capital of the first-named province; he was assisted by an advisory council of five members, one of whom was the commander-in-chief of the British forces. In each of the other sections there was a governor who was aided by a similar body, including the general in charge of the local troops. All officials in the service of the Company, whatever their duties, were Englishmen. Natives of India were never placed

¹ On the organization of the East India Company, cf. "American Cyclopædia" (edition of 1863), article "East Indian Companies," VI, 729 et seq.

² Balfour, "Cyclopædia of India," I, 552.

in any position of influence or trust. To the governor-general was confided the responsibility of absolute and final decision in all political and military affairs. His decrees were subject to review only by the Board of Directors. The other governors were subordinate to him, but might exercise like functions save the requirement of his approval.

Such was the framework for the control and management of this vast organism, as well as for the administration and government of its immense realms, inhabited by hundreds of millions of human beings. How mischievously this mechanism had worked, and how productive it had been of scandals, abuses, and oppression, has been explained. Parliament had tried to correct these faults by the inauguration of the Board of Control, in 1784; but the results had been inadequate and unsatisfactory.¹ On the side of the Crown, this institution had only been of use in retaining for it the patronage of a few offices, the partial direction of financial matters, and the ultimate judgment on some topics of general interest. From a certain standpoint this body had been of benefit, but in the greater phase of the relations sustained toward the peoples of India, the conduct of business there, the honesty of petty servants, the treatment of the natives, and the maintenance of a strict standard of justice between East Indians and Englishmen, the Board of Control had proved itself incapable. Robert Peel was therefore simply voicing the sincere aspirations of the nation when, in the House of Commons, in 1830, upon presenting the proposed bill for the provisional extension of the East India Company's authority, as essentially modified, he announced the intention "to secure the inhabitants of these distant regions in the enjoyment of their rights, personal

¹ Mill, "British India," IV, 396 et seq. It may be well here to remark that it must never be forgotten, to cite the words of McCarthy, that "among the ablest civil servants the East India Company ever had, were James Mill and his son, John Stuart Mill," "Our Own Times," III, 111. The latter it was who drew the principal protests addressed to the government against its abolition, *ibid.* 111-112. "Mr. Mill was naturally swayed by the force of association with, and confidence in, the great organization with which he and his father had been connected so long," *ibid.* 112. This statement does not impugn his fairness in presenting facts.

liberty, and the fruits of their toil, to reimburse them for past sufferings and wrongs, and to console them with benefactions for the loss of their independence."

The measure of 1833¹ was, in effect, a compromise.² Its chief clauses were: all property was transferred to the Crown; and the corporation was divested of its mercantile privileges; India and its trade were declared free to British subjects; on the other hand, the Company, under the Board of Control, was designated as trustee and manager for twenty years; an annual dividend of ten and one-half per cent was guaranteed to its members. Furthermore, there was a clause that after 1874 the government might at its discretion take up the stock upon payment at the rate of £200 per share; for which purpose £2,000,000 was set aside as a sinking fund. It was also agreed that if, subsequent to 1854, the charter was cancelled, stockholders might, after three years' notice, require the purchase of their shares on the same terms. The reservation of the £2,000,000 having been made, the outstanding debts were paid, and the remainder of the capital expended for public improvements in India. Thus the East India Company finally ceased, in 1834, to exist as a commercial organization, and thenceforth for the rest of its career was to be only an administrative department; in this mutilated condition it was yet to live for some time.

The next change in the affairs of India occurred in 1849, when the entire country was opened alike to foreigners and to natives. By the provisions of the enactment of 1833 the ultimate abolition of the East India Company was recognized as impending, and the method of its dissolution was pointed out; it was anticipated that the end would come in 1874, but events were destined to hasten it. Reference has been made to the lengthy warfare which, continuing until 1858, terminated in the revolt of the Indian troops.³ The constant struggles

¹ 3 and 4 William IV, Ch. 85; Ilbert, "Government of India," 84-92.

² For the provision of this charter, the debates and negotiations concerning it, Auber, II, 658-713; more briefly, with some account of the results, Martineau, III, 341-342.

³ *Supra*, II, 258.

waged for the perpetuation of British supremacy over the princes and the races of the peninsula attracted the attention of every Englishman. The belief was growing that the retention of the form of the Company, as an agency of the public service, was impracticable and useless; that, in fact, the Crown might, if the corporation were repudiated, act more expeditiously and judiciously through its own immediate functionaries. It was in view of this prevailing opinion that, in 1853,¹ when the charter was again renewed, not any limit was fixed for its duration;² the period was left indefinite and at the pleasure of the state. This same act, also, very materially modified the procedure of the association as well as its duties and franchises, but it is scarcely necessary here to enter into the details; for with the mutiny, the consequent losses threatened, and the actual demoralization inflicted upon English rule, long-restrained popular sentiment at length achieved the task which for so many years had been deferred.³

The Company having proved incapable of suppressing the insurrection due to the culmination of its own excesses, the Crown was obliged to intervene. Then followed, in August, 1858, the Act of Parliament⁴ "for the better government of India," wherein it was provided that "all the territories heretofore under the government of the East India Company are vested in the British queen, and all its powers are to be exercised in her name; one of the principal secretaries of state to have all the powers exercised by the Company or by the Board of Control. The military and naval forces of the East India Company are to be deemed the forces of the queen, and all persons holding any office, employment, or commission in

¹ 16 and 17 Vict. Ch. 95.

² Ilbert, 93.

³ "Rightly or wrongly, it is certain that almost the whole voice of English public opinion cried out for the abolition of the East India Company."—McCARTHY, III, 113. For a discussion of the events which immediately preceded its dissolution, *ibid.* 99-114.

⁴ 21 and 22 Vict. Ch. 108. The change effected by this act was announced in India by the queen's proclamation of November 1, 1858 (printed in Ilbert, "Government of India," 571). This document has been termed by Sir W. W. Hunter to be "in the truest sense the Magna Charta of the Indian people," "Indian Empire," 495.

India are transferred to the service of the Crown. All functions of the court of directors and proprietors are to cease, together with the salaries paid, and the Board of Control is likewise abolished." The East India Company was thus deprived of its possessions; it survived for some years afterward in name, but the work of its directors was limited to the settlement of its concerns and the adjustment of its accounts; after these formalities had been accomplished and the stockholders paid off under the Act of 1833, the final dissolution ensued.

As a dependency of the Crown India in its administration has since 1858 been regulated by Acts of Parliament.¹ Local legislation is intrusted to the council in India, but the budget and general enactments are subject to special approval. The executive responsibility rests in a secretary of state,² who is a member of the British cabinet, and consequently of Parliament, to which he is amenable. He is aided by an advisory council of not less than ten persons, holding office for ten years; they are not liable to political change. The majority must have been in the public employ in India not less than ten years, and must have returned from that land at most within two years of their selection; their advice, however, is not binding and may be disregarded. The governor-general, chosen by the Crown and residing at Calcutta, is the representative of the empress, and as such is vested with absolute executive authority in India; but his position is recently becoming more and more perfunctory, for in reference to matters of British interest he is subordinate to the secretary, who signs the orders sent from England. All decrees relative to local affairs read "the Governor-General in Council," and in them two councils participate. The executive council—an outgrowth of the old Company's similar body, as instituted a century ago—is composed of seven individuals, named by the secretary of state, and, in a degree, serves as

¹ For a general discussion of the administration of India, cf. Hunter, Ch. XVI.

² Strachey, "India," 50-55.

a kind of cabinet.¹ Its opinion is simply consultative and not obligatory, although as a fact it is usually observed. The legislative council consists of the same members as the preceding with six to twelve additional appointees; under certain restrictions it exercises complete local power. The governors of Madras and Bombay also have councils; the lieutenant-governor of Bengal has only a legislative council, while elsewhere they do not exist.²

The government of India is distributed into various departments, over each one of which a member of the executive council presides,³ and in which a special secretary also assists. British India proper is divided into thirteen local administrations, or provinces.⁴ Of the districts — the unit of control — there are 246; in each an officer known as a deputy commissioner is supreme; he, in turn, is strictly responsible to the provincial governor.⁵ A thoroughly independent system of judiciary has been created including regularly graded courts and employing some 2200 judges, many of whom are natives of the country; final appeal lies to the Privy Council in England.⁶

Such is the organization which has been so slowly evolved. The last step in the recognition of the importance of East India to the realm was the proclamation, on January 1, 1877, of Queen Victoria as empress.⁷ The form of rule as described is at present in force over an area of 1,068,314 square miles, with 221,172,952 inhabitants. Supplementary to this vast territory and immense population directly under English sovereignty, are the so-called feudatory states,⁸ comprising an extent of 731,944 square miles and 66,050,479 people; these

¹ Strachey, "India," 44.

² For the secretary of state for India, his council, the governor-general, the executive council, etc., in brief, Cotton and Payne, 36-40.

³ Strachey, 44.

⁴ Hunter, 511.

⁵ For the local machinery of government, cf. Cotton and Payne, 28-35; for its complexity, *ibid.* 41-46.

⁶ For the Indian judicial system, Strachey, Ch. VII; Cotton and Payne, 40, 41.

⁷ Royal Titles Act; 39 and 40 Vict. Ch. X.

⁸ Hunter, 76, 79.

latter, properly speaking, in a transitory stage, while not yet immediately administered by British functionaries, are nevertheless under the protection and influence of Great Britain; in some the local potentates are compelled to follow the advice and counsel of the resident maintained at their courts; in others, a mere acknowledgment of suzerainty is required. For the most part, they pay a fixed tribute and furnish a quota of soldiers to the standing army.¹ Subsequent to the abolition of the old Company's authority, the progress of India has been especially remarkable from a material point of view. Reforms in domestic conditions have aided agriculture² and industry so that, in spite of famine and pestilence, the advancement in both these pursuits has been enormous. The greater portion of these domains has long been free from war, for the conflicts waged in recent years have been almost exclusively on the outlying frontiers. The avowed struggle for conquest long ago ceased;³ such contests as have been fought have been, at least ostensibly, for the defence and preservation of the integrity of the empire.

The principal crops are rice, wheat, oil seeds, cotton, sugar cane, jute, indigo, tobacco, tea, and coffee; 188,921 acres were under cultivation in 1896. India is also rich in mineral ores and precious stones, and its manufactures are rapidly developing. The revenue is chiefly derived from land taxation; there are likewise excise, customs, stamp and provincial taxes. The total receipts from all sources in 1897-1898 amounted to

¹ For a brief statement of the administrations and the political relationship of these states to England, Cotton and Payne, 23-27.

² For a comparison of the conditions among the peasant class in India and in Java, rather unfavorable to English rule, cf. Ireland, "Tropical Colonization," 214-215, quoting Henry Scott Boys.

³ "The empire of England over India was won by the sword, and it rests to this day upon no other title." — COTTON AND PAYNE, 23. *Contra*: "Again, as conqueror, no right is claimed by us. We do not hold India by the title of conquerors, in the sense that the Spaniards held Mexico; we subject it to no tribute; we impose upon it no restrictions in order that profit should be artificially diverted for our own benefit. We are there now as rulers. The right upon which we rely as a reasonable justification for being there is the right of doing good by ruling." — CALDECOTT, 67. For a further discussion as to the right or wrong of the English occupation, *ibid.* 66-85.

£96,442,004 and the expenditures to £101,801,215; the debt was £242,989,003.¹ The imports for 1898-1899 were valued at £59,978,350, and the exports were to the sum of £80,061,600.² Of the former more than one-half come from Great Britain, while one-fourth of the latter were shipped thither. In public improvements, road, railway, telegraph and telephone service, as well as harbor facilities and interior waterways, India has lately been making phenomenal strides. The railways on March 31, 1899, measured 22,491 miles; the telegraphs in operation were 50,306 miles in the length of their lines and 154,824 in that of their wires.³ All these figures, indicative of growth, are increasing year by year.⁴

The main obstacles to steady and unrestricted prosperity are the scourges of plague and famine which at regular intervals prey upon the peoples of this land. The task of the future is the introduction of proper sanitation; to accomplish this end the deeply rooted prejudices of the native races must be overcome; but when that happy period of practical exemption from pestilence shall arrive, the highest blessing conferred by European occupation will then have been achieved.⁵ The problem of freedom from periodical starvation is of equally difficult solution, but the palliatives, already well known, are being provided as quickly as possible. The extension of works of irrigation and the construction of railways are the two great factors, the one which will obviate and the other relieve this peril. May the government be able by its diligence to prevent the repetition of these dire calamities!

In international relations India may be said to present only one prominent topic for consideration. The causes and rem-

¹ For the financial administration, in brief, cf. Cotton and Payne, 47-57.

² Exchange figured at the rate of fifteen rupees to the sovereign.

³ For further statistics, cf. "Annual Cyclopædia" (1899), 376; "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 125-166.

⁴ Strachey, XIV ("Public Works"); as to the value of India to Great Britain, cf. Rosscher and Jannasch, 289 et seq.

⁵ For the effects of British rule and a forecast of the future, cf. Cotton and Payne, 58-87. "A confederacy of many states and provinces, each developing peacefully after its own fashion, and all united by a common bond to the English name, is our dream for the twentieth century."—*Ibid.* 87.

edies for the depreciation of its currency concern the entire world. The monetary question likewise forms the one subject which has occasioned friction with the imperial authorities. At the beginning of 1898 the financial situation was well-nigh insupportable. Efforts were being directed to secure a thoroughly impartial and comprehensive statement of the best methods of relief, through an inquiry made by an especially appointed commission. The measures ultimately to be taken as based on this report, are awaited with interest and intense anticipation by all financiers.¹

¹ For a discussion of the financial conditions in India during the last few years, cf. "Annual Cyclopaedia"; for a brief summary of the results achieved in the introduction of the gold standard, cf. "Advance Sheets of Consular Reports," No. 738 (May 24, 1900), report by Consul-General Patterson, Calcutta.

CHAPTER XXVI

SUMMARY OF ENGLISH COLONIZATION

THE description of the East Indian Empire concludes the actual record of modern English colonization. The development of British power has been traced from the petty remnants of the earlier realm, as remaining after 1783, to the majestic proportions of its present magnificence; it has been seen how from 600,000 people, scattered in a few outposts, the real colonial system of England has grown to include 21,768,908 individuals, occupying an area of 7,523,780 square miles; but these, in fact, constitute only a portion of the races and regions over which her sway is exercised; for besides them there are 287,223,431 inhabitants of India with their dominions covering 1,800,258 square miles; nor does that comprise all, for the protectorates throughout Africa, Asia, and in the Pacific, with their 36,230,000 natives and 2,281,200 square miles of territory, must not be forgotten. When the calculations are as complete, then, as may be, it is found that the United Kingdom is virtually sovereign over dependencies inhabited by 345,222,339 human beings, and stretching over 11,605,238 square miles of the earth's surface.

It is not merely a narrative of conquest which has been reviewed, since the struggle throughout the colonial fabric for escape from oppression is everywhere evident. The colonists, so widely dispersed in far separated quarters of the globe, seconded by the efforts of sympathetic Englishmen, have, by different means and at various times within the nineteenth century, attained independence in self-government, exemption from penal settlements, the abolition of slavery, and the overthrow of corporate tyranny. These four great reforms, respectively inaugurated in Canada, Australia, the West Indies,

and East India, have thence diffused their beneficent influence over other localities, and their mention alone suffices to recall the rapid evolution, political and social, achieved during the hundred years. How Canada, Australia, and South Africa have long enjoyed practical freedom; how, likewise, the West Indies are lately recuperating from their retrograde movement of the first half of the century; and how within forty years even East India is tending toward a larger measure of native participation in its administration, — need only be borne in mind. Under the prevailing theory of this era the ultimate destiny of all the colonial establishments to acquire the highest degree of liberty commensurate with their needs and consistent with their welfare is obvious; and with such methods so strongly stamped upon the foundations of British legislation it is difficult to see how this policy can ever be seriously modified. Details may be altered, but the cardinal principles must persist.¹

In the beginning the character of the parent state was impressed upon the dependencies, but now the process seems reversed; for, if competent judges be correct, the mightier effect is being exerted by them upon the mother country. The latest manifestation of this spirit is the oft-expressed desire to unite the colonies in one imperial confederation. The conference held in London for the discussion of this topic and the resolutions then adopted have been elsewhere noted.² Any closer political union was deprecated, but a more intimate commercial association was recommended; this action is the index of the basis of future unity. In politics the members of the British colonial family may differ, but in trade their interests are identical. The promotion of commerce is the great primary thought, and in so far as England and each of her possessions contributes more to this end so much the more their common profit is increased.

For the proper consideration of fiscal conditions a few statistics must again be cited. The value of the imports of all the British colonies (including India) in 1898-1899 was

¹ *Supra*, II, 79-83.

² *Supra*, II, 114-115, 163-164.

£240,941,968, their exports were £273,063,492; of these amounts the shares in which Great Britain and Ireland participated were £102,322,751 for imports (into the colonies) and £114,064,902 for exports (to the United Kingdom). As an entirety the British colonies (with or without India) have, until very recently, been usually self-supporting, but during the last two or three years the situation seems to be changing. In 1897-1898 the figures for their revenue and expenditure, excluding India, were respectively £55,708,422 and £56,468,217; with India they were £149,838,163 and £152,302,980. In 1898-1899, without India, their revenue was £56,545,758, expenditure £56,734,359; with India £152,987,762 and £158,535,574. The public debt was, colonies £348,524,284; India, £242,989,003; total, £591,513,287.

In spite of their general prosperity the colonies cost England, both directly and indirectly, vast sums;¹ fortunately for the empire, their economic progress has kept pace with their political development. By the very grant of responsible government to the principal communities, the nation relieved itself of their military protection. Canada, South Africa, and the Australias, where formerly many regiments were quartered, are now in times of peace practically without English troops. The assumption of their own defence was the price of the concessions made them. Elsewhere powerful garrisons must still be provided, although in India the native auxiliaries are in the vast majority, and the contributions of the subject states furthermore support the forces there stationed.² Great Britain herself pays and sustains for the control of her extensive realms a comparatively small number of fighting men. Altogether, the effective strength of the regular British army in 1898 was 231,859 officers and privates; of whom 106,686 were at home,

¹ England spends for the colonies, exclusive of India, chiefly for military and naval defense, £2,000,000.

² India contributes (1899-1900) £548,700 for home effective charges for forces serving in India, and £181,000 for deferred pay for service on Indian establishment, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 105. Other contributions from the colonies, on account of military expenditures, amount to £283,000, *ibid.*

44,605 in the colonies, 74,466 in India, and the remainder in Egypt and Crete.¹

The navy forms the great item of expense, its budget for 1900 alone being £26,595,000; but even that disbursement is not entirely to insure colonial safety. The United Kingdom must itself be guarded against possible foreign attack, while the primary purpose in case of war is designed to be the preservation of open sea routes for British trade and commerce. England, with all her industries, is confessedly incapable of self-maintenance if the ocean arteries for the supply of life's necessities were closed;² hence, seriously viewed, even the burden of the fleet — quite as essential, in fact, for the inhabitants of the British Isles as for the peoples of the possessions — must not be charged to the latter's exclusive account.

The amount of miscellaneous expenditure, aside from that for the military and naval armaments, will undoubtedly be admitted as fully offset by the incidental advantages. The trade of England with the colonies is the true standard of their material value. The figures of their imports and exports have just been examined; if these statistics be compared with the aggregate of British commerce it will be at once perceived that of £485,075,514, representing in 1899 the total imports into Great Britain and Ireland from all countries, £114,064,902 came from British dominions, and of the exports, amounting to £264,660,647 in the same year, £102,322,751 went thither. The dependencies are especially important as markets for British manufactured articles; of the whole national production they take forty per cent, while they furnish only twenty-four per cent of the imports; but nevertheless they are the chief sources of the raw materials required for home consumption.³

¹ The South African War necessarily involved important changes in these statistics. The greater part of the British troops were, during 1900, engaged in it; cf. "Annual Cyclopædia" (1899), 345 et seq.

² *Supra*, II, 239.

³ For an interesting discussion of the volume of trade between England and the colonies, as well as between the United States and the British possessions, cf. "Advance Sheets of Consular Reports" (May 18, 1900), 733, report by Ernest L. Harris, Consular Agent at Eibenstock.

Further details of the present conditions existing in the body politic, economic, and social of the complex organism of English colonization are here inadmissible. The fundamental methods pursued and the characteristics of the progress realized within the nineteenth century by the British empire, not less in this sphere than in that of civilization, have been, it is hoped, conscientiously portrayed and impartially criticised; if, after the perusal of this record, the reader has a clearer view of the effects consummated and the ends achieved by and for England, her colonies, and the human race, the aim of this narrative has been accomplished.

CHAPTER XXVII

MINOR COLONIZATION

Few nations other than those of which the chronicles have been recounted in the preceding chapters have participated in colonial ventures. Prior to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the only remaining peoples whose names are inscribed on the pages of such history are the Danes and the Swedes. One hundred years previously, it is true, Russia took a very limited part in commerce with the tribes of the remoter districts of Northern Asia and North America; but these relations were, in fact, exclusively for purposes of trade and, although territory was acquired, devoid of any results in the formation of permanent settlements. Not until very nearly the present day did Russia undertake to secure a subject domain; for, however decidedly peculiar the procedure of the Russians may be to themselves, their recent attempts to extend their rule must still be considered as only another phase of colonial endeavor.¹ And while the Czar is pushing the frontiers of his realm to the eastward, behold, two other European countries likewise proclaim a policy of exterior development. The Italians are once more resuming enterprises similar to those for which their ancestors of the mediæval ages were famous; while Germany, like an armed Achilles, has for the first time sprung fully equipped into the arena of activity.² For Denmark and Sweden the story is substantially closed; while Russia, Italy, and especially Germany are the powers which in the future will dispute with older rivals the distribution of the unoccupied regions of the earth. Nor must it be

¹ For a brief discussion of the distinctive characteristics of Russian colonization, cf. Leroy-Beaulieu, 666-670.

² For a comprehensive view of German emigration and colonial policy prior to 1885, cf. Rosscher and Jannasch, 327-416.

forgotten to mention the product of an essentially modern form of colonization—the Congo Free State, the achievement of efforts directed by an incorporated society, at the head of which stands the King of the Belgians in his individual and personal, but not official, capacity. A brief sketch of all these experiences will now be given.

Among the states which have played the lesser rôles Denmark, because of its relative importance and priority in time, first merits attention; but at the outset some preliminary remarks generally applicable to the nations of Scandinavia must be made. Neither the Danes nor the Swedes can be said to have been incited by any distinctive reasons to participation in distant expeditions; neither density of population nor persecution in matters of religion were the influences; for both countries were comparatively sparsely settled and both were free from dissensions of creed. One circumstance must, however, be noted as a condition favorable to this movement—the familiarity of these peoples with the sea; but, although that acquaintance with the ocean be inherent in these races, the quality is held only in common with the sturdy mariners of Holland and the British Isles, the early conquerors of which, as is well known, came in reality from these same regions. It may therefore be asked what motive urged these men of the North Sea and the Baltic to quit their firesides and enter into futile competition with their stronger neighbors for the wealth of the Orient and the lands of the Occident; the answer, contained in one word, is “poverty.”¹ In spite of the fact that the kingdoms of Scandinavia three centuries ago were comparatively of vastly greater consequence than now in the family of Europe, they were nevertheless poor. The larger proportion of their riches was drawn from the deep; the pursuit of fishing as a means of livelihood had, in the ninth and tenth centuries, occasioned those long voyages which the Norsemen made to the shores of Iceland,² Greenland, and,

¹ For the life of the Scandinavian people and their sea home, cf. Green, “Making of England,” 50–59.

² *Ibid.* 124–125, 162; Winsor, I, 59 et seq.; Morris, I, 22 et seq.; Dunham, II, 10.

farther south, along the coasts of the North American continent,¹ even to the districts of New England; and in the seventeenth century this avocation was not less productive of adventurous spirits nor less potent in its effect on national character than seven or eight hundred years previously.² These peoples also enjoyed one advantage. With Spain, Holland, and England, the principal actors in those waters wherein their ships plied, the Danes were at peace; Sweden came into disastrous collision with Holland in America, but elsewhere harmony reigned. The benefits derived from a policy of neutrality really constituted the basis of the good fortune which these little countries experienced in their commercial enterprises. The value of their own demand for the merchandise which their ships in times of tranquillity brought home was insignificant as compared to the sales which they made to the other nations of Europe whenever hostilities broke out between them. The situation of the Scandinavians may, then, be tersely described in a few words: the condition for their trade was familiarity with the sea, the mainspring of their action was poverty, and the opportunity for their prosperity was non-intervention in the contests of other maritime powers.

Both Iceland and Greenland are, in the popular acceptance of the term, dependencies of Denmark, although neither properly comes within the province of this work; the former is, in fact, a separate kingdom on an equality with the Danish state and ruled jointly by the same king; the latter is, on the contrary, more nearly defined as a sphere of influence or trading district. Iceland has long and interesting annals from the epoch of its first settlement, in the eighth century, over a period of eleven hundred years; after having a republican

¹ For Danish adventurers in North America, cf. Hildreth, I, 34; Lavissee and Rambaud, II, 729; Dunham, II, 16, 17-19.

² "In the first instance the Danes and Norwegians had for piracy a strong predisposition — such as is always noticeable among peoples dwelling near the sea — when they are not restrained by good habits and good laws. The occupation of piracy was for them what it had been for the early heroes of Greece, the career of glory and fortune, the profession of honor, which consisted in disdain for all dangers." — (tr.) RAYNAL, III, 6, 7.

form of government for nearly five centuries, the island fell, in 1262, into the hands of the king of Norway,¹ and ultimately, when this country, in 1380, was united with Denmark, became subject to the Danish Crown, to which it has since that time remained, practically without interruption, annexed.² In 1809, when Denmark was at war with England, a mushroom republic existed during two months. Of this land, simple in institutions, tried in misfortunes, rich in literature, and fascinating in history and legend, scarcely any details can here be given.³

The people of Iceland, always proud of their past and steadfast in their love of liberty, have waged even in the nineteenth century a severe political conflict with Denmark for the maintenance of their rights and privileges.⁴ After an unprecedented career of nine hundred years the Althing—the Icelandic legislative body—was, prior to 1843, abolished, and in that year reorganized. The latest constitutional revision occurred in 1893, when the present instrument went into effect. The lawmaking power is vested in the newly acknowledged Althing, or national legislature, consisting of two branches. The upper chamber is composed of twelve members—six appointed by the king and six chosen by the other house; the lower chamber has thirty-six members, thirty of whom are elected by popular vote and six designated by the Crown. The executive authority resides exclusively in the king. Iceland, not sending delegates to the Danish Parliament, does not pay any taxes to the parent state. The Crown is represented by a governor of its own selection, his acts being, however, open to the criticism of the Althing, which may address any complaint to the king; on the other

¹ "Iceland, which had remained undiscovered till long after the days of Charles, was, down to the year 1262, the only absolutely free republic in the world."—BRYCE, "Holy Roman Empire," 185; OTTE, 170-171.

² The trade of Iceland was formerly in the hands of a privileged company which seriously oppressed the colonists, R. and J. 271 et seq.

³ For early history and institutions of Iceland, cf. "Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroe Islands," by James Nicol (Edinburgh, 1844); for later events, cf. current official publications.

⁴ For this conflict and the constitution, cf. Seignobos, 576-577.

hand, a secretary for Iceland lives at Copenhagen.¹ This far distant island of the north thus cherishes its old traditions of freedom and strongly preserves its faith in local self-government. The area is 39,756 square miles, with a population of 70,927 inhabitants. The imports in 1898 were to the value of \$587,020, and exports \$586,920.²

Greenland claims the distinction of having been visited by Norsemen probably as early as 900 A.D., and was subsequently the abode of many Scandinavian colonists until about the end of the fifteenth century, when native attacks, mutual jealousies on the part of rival Norse chieftains, and sudden changes in climate combined to destroy the settlements. For more than two hundred years, in spite of numerous heroic endeavors to reestablish them, communication with the shores of Greenland was interrupted; only first in 1721 did the Danes again succeed in reaching this locality; since then they have planted some few outposts in these regions of ice and snow; but the prosperity attained by the communities existing prior to 1400 A.D. has never been recovered.³ Greenland is now chiefly valuable to the government for the monopoly which it holds over its trade, — particularly in furs; in 1898 its imports amounted to \$188,404, and its exports to \$107,468. The area of the domain under Danish jurisdiction is 46,740 square miles, and the people number 10,516 individuals.⁴ The administration of public affairs is in the hands of a governor and special agents, who are responsible to a board sitting at Copenhagen.

In the general movement of nations toward the Orient, the Danes were not far behind their more powerful competitors; their first East India Company was organized in 1616. It happened that a Dutch sailor by the name of Boscower, who, in Ceylon, had been given high preferment and the title of

¹ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1893), 258.

² Cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 500; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1897), 278-279.

³ Cf. Nicol, "Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroe Islands"; also "Encyclopædia Britannica."

⁴ "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 500.

prince, upon his return to Holland, by the display of magnificence and his haughty mien, had drawn upon himself the ridicule of his more simple-minded fellow-citizens. He had taken offence at their jokes and criticisms and, quitting his native land, had sought refuge in Denmark. Here, by his description of the wealth of those distant realms, he interested some merchants in the formation of a trading company.¹ Six vessels, under the command of Boscowier, were despatched as the first expedition; unluckily the chief promoter died en route. When the Danish sailors arrived in those seas which were unknown to them, they deviated from their intended course and anchored off the coast of Coromandel (East India). The reception there accorded them was so unfavorable that they were obliged to withdraw; but they ultimately were able to fix themselves on the mainland of the Indian peninsula at Tanjore.² Shortly afterward their rivals came to an agreement to exclude the Danes from the ports of that continent; while the latter, on the other hand, secured from the king of Ceylon the privilege of an establishment at Tranquebar. In spite of the disdain and opposition of other races, this colony was long maintained; during the time of the intense animosity between Holland and Portugal it enjoyed remarkable good fortune; but when peace came it withered, although remaining under Danish rule until well into the nineteenth century. This little possession was in 1843 purchased by the English East India Company.³ The first Danish association, running heavily in debt, came to a financially disastrous end in 1632; but the Danes were persistent in their efforts; for in 1634 they founded another society which again was superseded by a third, in 1686, and a fourth, in 1732.⁴ All the territories in East India were eventually, in 1777, upon

¹ For description and history of the Danish East India Companies, cf. Bonnassieux, 436-439; Scherer, II, 657-660.

² For the story of Boscowier and this voyage, cf. Raynal, III, 10-11.

³ Payne, 358.

⁴ The debts of the first company to the Crown alone at the date of its dissolution amounted to as much as the entire capital stock; all the other organizations suffered similarly.

the dissolution of this last corporation, transferred to the Crown, which retired from the Orient after the sale of Tranquebar.¹

Denmark conferred upon its East India Company the right to an exclusive monopoly of the home market, but left it unrestricted to sell its wares to any purchaser; to this freedom of international trade the fact was due that, during the periods of open hostilities between Portugal and Holland, subsequently between Holland and England, and finally between England and France, the Danish organization prospered. Its indifference to conquest and its strict adherence to neutrality assured well-merited commercial success. As an illustration of the effect which foreign wars had, the rise and fall in the quotation of its stock may be fairly cited. The original value of a share was 500 thalers; in 1782, while the struggle between Holland and England for the supremacy of the seas was in progress, the stock sold for 1900 thalers; in 1790 it had again declined to 420.² Besides their traffic in the East Indies, the Danes also extended their transactions to China, although, strictly considered, the Swedes were more active in that field.³

While some of the people of this little nation were sailing their vessels in the Indian Ocean, others were likewise following in the footsteps of the leading powers in the West Indian archipelago. Upon these islands the Danes were very tardy in making any permanent settlement, although for many years prior to their first attempt at regular colonization their pirates, side by side with those of England, France, and Holland, had infested these waters and preyed upon Spanish merchantmen. The first authorized colony was founded, in 1671, on the island of St. Thomas.⁴ The Danes then planted there a small outpost, — the control of which, in 1743, was turned over to a West India Company, — and likewise let out to

¹ Raynal, III, 11-14, 23-34.

² Brougham, "Colonial Policy," I, 487 et seq.; Leroy-Beaulieu, 182-183; Heeren, 165 (par. 18); 302 (par. 56).

³ Raynal, III, 14-18.

⁴ For settlement of St. Thomas, Lucas, II, 54; Southey, II, 103.

the free city of Hamburg the privilege there to locate a trading station. The island of St. Cross was also purchased from France, in 1733, for £75,000,¹ and in the meantime some few immigrants had established themselves on St. John, a natural dependency of St. Thomas.² Under the rule of the Company, which continued to exist until 1764, these possessions stagnated.³ Even St. Thomas, which, by reason of its situation and excellent port,⁴ gradually became an important centre, was more noted as a resort for filibusters and smugglers than for legitimate trade. After the dissolution of the corporation better fortune was experienced and, with the grant of absolute liberty in commerce, unequalled prosperity was achieved.⁵ In the last years of the eighteenth century, when all the other neighboring colonies were convulsed by the shock of arms and precipitated to the depths of despair, St. Thomas, maintaining its neutrality, attained greater and greater affluence; when, however, Denmark and England quarrelled, it soon succumbed to the latter. In 1801 it was captured by an English fleet, and again, in 1807, the same fate overtook it;⁶ but by the Peace of 1815 it was once more surrendered to Denmark, which state still retains it. The unsuccessful efforts made in 1867 to sell the two islands of St. Thomas and St. John to the United States for the sum of \$7,500,000 are immediately recalled.⁷

The cultivation of sugar, although pursued on a petty scale as compared with its production elsewhere, has presented very many of the same questions to the Danes as to the colonists of other races. With the problem of the slave trade Denmark, to its perpetual praise, was the first nation to grapple; for as early as March 16, 1792, a royal decree⁸ had been published

¹ Southey, II, 256.

² Heeren, 206 (par. 20).

³ Raynal, III, 441-456; Heeren, 302 (par. 55).

⁴ St. Thomas possesses one of the finest natural harbors in the West Indies.

⁵ Leroy-Beaulieu, 184.

⁶ Southey, III, 192, 396 et seq.

⁷ For the attempted purchase of 1866-1867, Wharton, I, 416-417. During the recent Spanish-American War, and even subsequently, there have been further rumors of the contemplated purchase of these islands by the United States.

⁸ For the translation of this edict in full, cf. Southey, III, 50-51.

fixing December 31, 1802, as the limit to that traffic throughout the Danish domains. Slavery itself was formally abolished in 1848.¹ St. Thomas and the other islands passed both these crises very satisfactorily. Another season for renewed commercial activity was afforded at the time of the conflict between Spain and her American provinces; even to be more accentuated, when Denmark subsequently, in 1834, opened the trade of its dependencies to all peoples. But the reaction in later years has been most pronounced. The removal of the restrictions imposed upon the possessions of other nationalities in this vicinity has resulted in depriving St. Thomas of the advantages at one time enjoyed. When placed on the level of equally balanced competition these colonies have not been able to hold their position. Disease, earthquakes, and storms have also direly contributed to their misfortunes. The latest statistics available give the total area of the Danish West Indies as 142 square miles, and the population as 38,819 inhabitants. In 1898 the imports were \$56,280 and the exports \$35,108.²

The achievements of the Swedes in colonial enterprise were even less notable. At the outset they met with serious disasters; their first East India Trading Company, founded in 1624-1626 by Gustavus Adolphus, failed to survive the blow occasioned by the death of its royal patron.³ About the same date the Company of the South Seas was incorporated for the purpose of trafficking with America. Under its auspices settlements were made, in 1638, within the boundaries of the present states of Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.⁴

¹ For the abolition of slavery, cf. Tourmagne, 376.

² "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 500.

³ In 1624 Gustavus Adolphus issued a manifesto instituting a general commercial society, to be called the Australian Company, with special trade privileges in Africa, Asia, and America; subsequently, in 1626, a more ample charter was given, Winsor, IV, 443. This authority also refers to Geijer's "Svenska Folkets Historia," which says that the project was recommended to the bishops, "the rather that the company was to labor for the conversion of the heathen," *ibid.* IV, 443, note 2.

⁴ For the letter of Peter Minuit, the leader of the first settlement on the Delaware, offering to conduct colonists to the New World, cf. Winsor, IV, 445, note 2; *supra*, I, 351.

The Swedes baptized this region New Sweden, and located their chief town on the island of Tinicum, just below Philadelphia.¹ Their tranquillity was of brief duration, for the Dutch, jealous of this foreign invasion of territories which they themselves claimed, prepared for hostilities. The Swedes erected an outpost, called Fort Christian, near their frontier, when the Dutch at once responded by building Fort Casimer, five miles distant, on the site of the later New Castle;² the former began the conflict by capturing, in 1654, this stronghold; but the next year the governor of New Amsterdam collected an adequate force, and, marching against the Swedish establishments, carried them by storm.³ He then required the colonists to take the oath of Dutch allegiance, ordering the transportation to Europe of those who did not accede to this condition. This deplorable event closed the ephemeral existence of the Swedes as a colonial power on the American continent.⁴ A few stations which had been inaugurated in Africa were likewise lost.⁵

The Swedes then seem to have abandoned for many years all general efforts for distant trade; it is, therefore, with some feeling of surprise that the subsequent creation of an East India Company is observed. The origin of this corporation was in reality due to a peculiar conjunction of exterior incidents. In the early years of the eighteenth century the Flemish people, under the inspiration of the Austrian ruling house, made an endeavor to retrieve their splendor of bygone days by launching into Oriental affairs. Six million florins having been subscribed in this part of the Low Countries, a company was duly chartered with headquarters at Ostend; trading posts were fixed on the Coromandel coast and on the river Ganges. Both England and the Netherlands

¹ For the history of the Swedish settlements in brief, Bancroft, I, 501-511.

² The Swedish boundary posts were cut down and freemen were threatened, in order to force the Swedes to acknowledge Dutch authority, Winsor, IV, 467.

³ Morris II, 193 et seq.

⁴ The colony had sometimes remained as long as five years without any communication from the home government.

⁵ The Swedish West India Company closed its career in 1671 with debts amounting to 262,000 thalers, R. and J. 278.

vigorously protested against this infringement of their alleged exclusive rights in India, and sought some pretext to cause the suppression of their new rival. Finally the opportunity came. The Emperor Charles VI desired to secure the adhesion of the Dutch and the English to the proposed succession of his daughter, otherwise known as the "Pragmatic Sanction." The two nations mentioned eventually agreed not to intervene in this last matter upon the promise that the Ostend organization should be dissolved; and so it happened.¹ The capital, then left free, was immediately transferred to Stockholm, and, under the direction of the noted merchant, Henrik Koning, a Swedish East India Company was formed.² This association, instituted in 1731 with a capital of \$1,080,000, was granted an absolute monopoly for fifteen years and, in spite of the high duties and imports exacted by the government, at first phenomenally flourished. Its relations were mostly with China, where it had its offices at Canton. Its vessels were required to sail from and return to Gothenburg to discharge their cargoes; but after the regular dues were paid its goods might be sold in any market at home or abroad. The annual dividends are said to have averaged thirty per cent. This society continued to enjoy a moderate degree of prosperity until about 1815, when it ceased to exist.³

A field for activity was also found in the Mediterranean. Under the guidance of Jonas Alstromer, one of its great historic characters, Sweden negotiated, about the middle of the eighteenth century, a convention with the Dey of Algiers, by the terms of which its ships were allowed to frequent all the ports of that sea. The company then organized for this trade, after an exceedingly varied career, came to an end in 1791.⁴

¹ For the history of the short-lived Ostend Company (1722-1731), cf. Van den Bogaerde de-ter-Brugge, "Essay on the Importance of Commerce in the Low Countries," II, 138-146; Raynal, III, 34-44.

² For the foundation and history of this company, cf. Bonnassieux, 472-475; Heeren, 206 (par. 20), 303 (par. 57). This organization was in its day unique, by reason of undertaking colonial commerce without colonies, Scherer, II, 663-664.

³ Raynal, III, 51-57.

⁴ For Alstromer's company, Bonnassieux, 475. The life of the founder

Sweden, determined upon gaining a foothold in the West Indies, obtained of France, in 1784, the diminutive island of St. Bartholomew in exchange for certain commercial privileges at Gothenburg.¹ Being at once declared a free port, this little colony subsequently passed through experiences which were very similar to those of the neighboring Danish possessions. Its importance having been overestimated, a desire to be rid of it was soon manifested; finally, in 1868, the Swedish Crown and Parliament concluded to offer it for sale; for several years a buyer was sought, when at length France repurchased it.² Such is the history of Swedish colonization.

In this sphere of labor both Denmark and Sweden failed. Incapable of protecting their rights when necessary to defend them, and obliged to yield to the slightest demand of their more powerful competitors, both these nations were unable to procure dependencies large enough for profitable development. That their people were not indisposed to emigrate is proven by the vast throngs of those who have come to settle in the United States; had their own countries possessed colonies sufficiently attractive, by their natural wealth and prospective progress, it is very probable these wanderers would have preferred to go thither to dwell under their own flag; but they beheld them not. The military and naval forces of the states of Scandinavia were inadequate, their markets too limited, and their capital too small; for these reasons they were outdistanced in the race, nay sometimes, it may better be said, crushed in the struggle by their more favored opponents.

Neither the abortive efforts of Prussia to create a mercantile association nor the American fur trade of Russia involved any real colonial enterprise. In 1750 Frederick II, emulating his stronger rivals, chartered an Oriental trading company having headquarters at Emden. One expedition sailed to China and another to India, but, both resulting disastrously, the organiza-

measured that of the organization; after his death, in 1761, it merely dragged out an existence.

¹ Lucas, II, 54-55; Southey, "West Indies," III, 2.

² "Annual Cyclopædia" (1877), 319; (1878), 777; (1879), 824.

tion wound up its affairs.¹ Peter the Great, imbued with Dutch ideas from his residence in Holland, was the first to endeavor to encourage the extension of commercial relations by the Russians; but, instead of sending his subjects to remote localities, the method adopted by him was to induce others to participate in traffic in his own country.² Before that day the regions of this vast realm had been free to all comers; but Peter, wishing to wield some control over the exports, undertook to consummate with France and other nations formal treaties of commerce.³ The Russians never attempted until very nearly the close of the eighteenth century to secure for themselves any permanent station in distant lands. Cook reached the shores of the present Alaska in 1788, and upon his return to Europe his report of that district and the products there found rapidly spread from England to the Continent. The Russians of Siberia and Kamtschatka had already, within a few years prior to that time, visited this vicinity for the purchase of furs,⁴ so that now, when their account of the abundance of skins was impartially confirmed, the government at once proceeded to foster the trade. Paul VIII in 1799 granted the first patent to the Russian-American Fur Company, authorizing it to enter into possession, on behalf of Russia, of all territories in America, north or south of fifty-five degrees, not previously occupied by any

¹ For some account of this company, cf. Raynal, III, 81-91; Carlyle, "Frederick the Great," V, 324 et seq., 410 et seq. Frederick I is reported subsequently to have said, "For the money required to build a war-ship, I can maintain a regiment, which is better." — DOHM, "Memoirs," IV, 279.

² It was under appointment from Peter the Great that Vitus Bering made his voyage of exploration in 1728; for the prior conquests of the Russians as early as 1560, and subsequently, cf. Fiske, "Discovery of America," II, 549 et seq.

³ Already, in 1587, the French traded at Archangel; in 1629 they were permitted to trade in all the ports of the Czar's dominions, but he refused to establish a company. Peter the Great in 1714 unsuccessfully attempted to obtain a treaty of commerce with France; at last, in 1787, such an instrument was signed between the Czar and Louis XVI, Bonnassieux, 469-470; Pigeonneau, II, 445-447.

⁴ Heeren, 303 (par. 58): "An intercourse was opened with China as early as 1692 by Peter the Great, of which Kiachta became the principal seat." It was a monopoly of the Crown until 1672, *ibid.*

other state.¹ The original capital was \$853,176; the charter was renewed in 1839. The corporation financially prospered, yielding large annual dividends and extending its operations not only throughout Alaska, but also to California and to China. Its principal port was New Archangel, on the island of Sitka, an establishment which had a few of the elementary characteristics of colonial life. Numerous other outposts were situated in these latitudes. The annual transactions were quite important, being estimated at 10,000 seal, 1000 sea otter, 12,000 beaver, and 2500 land otter, fox, and martin pelts. The society continued to exist until the year 1867, when, as well known, Alaska was bought by the United States for the sum of \$7,200,000.²

With the cession of Alaska, Russia, while withdrawing from this domain, did not by any means abandon the possibility of commercial prestige. Unlike the other European countries of smaller area, this land has within its own borders wide tracts still uncultivated, unopened, and uninhabited. In later years the energies of the empire have been turned upon itself with the aim of increasing the productiveness of its own resources;³ especially to the Caucasus the Russians have directed their attention. Plans, partially executed, for the irrigation of these arid, barren slopes have been elaborated, immigration thither has been stimulated, and the government hopes that these ventures at home colonization may in the future bear rich fruit.⁴ Away beyond the Caspian Sea, along the northwestern boundary of India, Russia is exerting itself to set definite barriers to British expansion. Two states in that neighborhood acknowledge the sovereignty of the Czar; the one, Bokhara, has an area of 92,000 square miles and a population of 2,500,000; the other,

¹ For the Russian-American Company of 1799, cf. Moore, "International Arbitrations," I, 755; for the ukase of 1821, *ibid.* I, 756.

² "Annual Cyclopædia" (1866), 682-683; (1867), 36-37; (1868), 20-21.

³ This growth is the natural expansion of an agricultural people, Wallace, 580. For the Russian advance beyond the Caucasus, cf. Rambaud, "Russia," III, 282-304.

⁴ For Russian trade in Central Asia, Curzon, 113, 239.

Khiva, 22,300 square miles and 700,000 people;¹ in both cases Russian control is now chiefly restricted to matters of trade, but under certain contingencies is undoubtedly subject to further development.² At the same time as Russia is placing limitations to the growth of British influence along the northern frontier of India,³ Siberia⁴ and its other immense dominions in Asia are awakening to the rumble of railways and the hum of industry. The Czar has secured concessions in China⁵ and the trans-Siberian railroad is being rapidly pushed forward. With all these evidences of progress, premonitions of a steady advancement in such relations during the twentieth century, who can determine to what extent Russia will participate in the mercantile regeneration of the East? Although this task be completed without the use of the word "colonization," will its promoters, by the similarity of the results to be attained, not be accomplishing — only under another name — the identical objects which the other European nations, with their colonial establishments in America, Asia, and Africa, have achieved? If, indeed, phraseology be disregarded, the distinction fades into a mere variation of method, unimportant as unessential.⁶

These recent efforts of Russia recall — if the digression be here permitted — that in this sense the United States have likewise, throughout their national career, been actually engaged in the real work of colonization, although the steady extension of the republic may not generally be recognized as

¹ "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 989-990.

² For Russia in Bokhara, cf. Curzon, 156. The Treaty of 1873 is found in Curzon (Appendix V). For the Russians in Khiva, cf. Lansdeel, II, 282-283.

³ For an English opinion on the Russian designs in India, cf. Curzon, 318; for the rivalry between England and Russia, *ibid.* Ch. II.

⁴ For Siberia, cf. Krausse, Ch. II.

⁵ Port Arthur and Ta-lien-wan, leased to Russia on March 27, 1898, for a period of twenty-five years, although not yet accurately defined in area, have by an imperial ukase of August 16 (28), 1899 been organized as a province by the name of Kwang Tung, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 991. For the Russo-Chinese agreement of March 27, 1898, cf. Krausse, 384-386. For the Anglo-Russian convention respecting spheres of influence in China, cf. *ibid.* 387-388.

⁶ For details of the present-day progress of Russia briefly stated, cf. articles in "Annual Cyclopædia" for recent years; for statistics and other data, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 920-995.

such a manifestation.¹ The casual observer is too prone to attach to this activity the idea of distance, to believe that for the application of the term "colony" to a dependency the latter must necessarily be remote from the metropolis. The fact is that the relationship is more properly based upon the existence of a certain peculiar mutuality of rights and obligations. What difference can it possibly make that the possession be isolated by the depth of the seas or by the wide expanse of the plains; by a voyage over ocean requiring a month or by a journey on land consuming a similar interval? If the thought of separation by water be disassociated, cannot the settlement of Louisiana, California, and the Northwest well be claimed as some of the greatest episodes in colonial history? In Alaska, Americans are still occupied in the evolution of a magnificent colony.²

It is now time more particularly to speak of the endeavors made by the Germans and the Italians in the later years of the nineteenth century to acquire subject territories. Both these peoples, admirably fitted as individuals for the creation of new establishments, have been extremely tardy in initiating their labors. Reason for this delay is not, however, lacking; in Germany and in Italy the solution of domestic difficulties had to be found, the nation itself had to be reconstituted, an administration organized and adjusted, after long military and constitutional conflict, before the energies of the state could be devoted to any enlargement of its power or supremacy beyond its own frontiers. The masses, ready and anxious to escape poverty, distress, and persecution at home, did not therefore perceive any place of refuge or flight prepared by their own government, but were obliged elsewhere to seek the welcoming haven. Thousands after thousands,

¹ For a view of American interior colonization, cf. Rosscher and Jannasch, 292-300.

² Mention of Hawaii, the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, Guam, and Tutuila as colonial possessions of the United States is purposely avoided, since their status is still to be more definitely determined by Congress and by the judiciary. The ultimate relationship of Cuba to the Union is also a matter of time. In the eyes of Europeans, however, it may be decidedly said that all are now reckoned as American dependencies.

scattering to the remotest regions of the earth, helped to build up foreign colonies and realms; the efficient part which the Germans have played in the evolution of Anglo-Saxon communities, whether situated in America, Australia, or Africa, is fully known; while there should be equally remembered the important number of Italians who have contributed to the growth of the Spanish republics in South America, not to mention their influence on the continent of the north. Thus, although these races have, in a degree beyond ordinary comprehension, impressed the effects of their character upon those among whom they have fixed their abodes, still, by their ultimate fusion into the dominant body, social and politic, the absolute results of their toil and industry have been lost to their native lands. Just consider a moment what a vast colonial empire might have been settled and worked by the hundreds of thousands of Germans who, during the nineteenth century, have migrated to the United States;¹ the throngs of roving Italians might have achieved almost as much.² But, in spite of this favorable disposition of the citizens, the capabilities of their countries were deficient for any such undertakings. When, indeed, finally their respective constitutions were fully perfected, the naturally anticipated movements toward exterior development were in both cases quickly manifested. In Germany and Italy the resolution to enter upon this career was almost contemporaneous.³

The earliest instance of official aid proposed to be lent by the Germans for the promotion of their commerce abroad occurred in 1880; which effort, although unsuccessful, marks the opening of their colonial policy.⁴ In the preceding year the old established firm of J. C. Goddefrey & Son, of Hamburg,

¹ Jung, "Deutsche Kolonization," 48-94; Stoecklin, 166-176.

² For some account of the causes of the Italian colonial movement and its difficulties, Leroy-Beaulieu, 316-320.

³ Beginning about 1880.

⁴ The author is not unmindful of the expansion of German nationality which occurred in the Middle Ages and somewhat later through the migration, or rather dispersion, of the German people toward the east in Poland and along the Russian frontier; but he does not consider that this movement is in

failed; it had been engaged for two centuries in trade on the islands of the southern Pacific; especially in the Samoan group, the transactions of the house were considerable. Immediately upon its bankruptcy an organization, called the "German Commercial and Plantation Association of the South Seas," was formed, which, purchasing the property of the defunct concern, attempted to place itself under national auspices. Prince Bismarck was committed to the project, and, with his usual characteristic disposition to seize every opportunity for the extension of German prestige, elaborated from this one suggestion the outlines of a complete system. He backed the bill offered in the Reichstag to guarantee a loan of \$2,500,000 approximately to the new corporation. The measure was championed on the plea of patriotism, the shame of abandoning German interests in the Pacific, of the disgrace which would come if the flag, for want of this subsidy, should disappear from these waters. But all these arguments availed little, for the act was rejected by a small majority.¹ The authorities, however, were persistent in the decision which they had reached. The South Sea Company, although it had not been accorded pecuniary assistance, undaunted, and encouraged by the moral, political, and effective support of the cabinet, proceeded to push its enterprises.²

any proper sense to be classed as colonization. It was a spontaneous development of a nationality, and, while it pushed forward the German frontier, it was the incorporation of a settled country into the German realms rather than its colonization. For full description of this subject, its causes, methods, and results, cf. Arnold, "Ansiedelungen und Wanderungen deutscher Stämme," Marburg, 1875; briefly, Thatcher, "History of Medieval Europe," New York, 1897, 186-187, 258-259, 174-175, 184. There are, however, records of two other early German enterprises partaking of the colonial character. In 1528 an Augsburg banker fitted out at Seville four ships for the purpose of founding a colony in South America. Charles V authorized him to reduce to slavery the Indians who should not peacefully submit, Stoecklin, 39-40. A century later, in the age of the Great Elector (1640-1688), an effort was made to found a German settlement on the Gold Coast in Africa. International events, however, obliged Frederick William I, in 1718, to sell this outpost to Holland; cf. Richter, "Die deutschen Kolonien," 5.

¹ For the Godfrey affair, cf. "Annual Register" (1879), 169-170; "Annual Cyclopaedia" (1879), 442; (1880), 319; *The Nineteenth Century*, February, 1886, 288-289; for the German negotiations with Samoa, cf. *ibid.* 305.

² For this period of German colonial history, cf. Schmidt, II, 292-304.

With this series of incidents the difficulties connected with Samoa may be said to begin; for it was at that date that the empire first undertook to define its rights. Both England and the United States having, by previous treaties with the native tribes, secured concessions, viewed the encroachments of Germany with displeasure. With the object of preserving order in the archipelago and suppressing the domestic conflicts which would otherwise have raged between rival chieftains, the three countries, in 1879, entered into a convention for the joint exercise of their privileges; the original arrangement was renewed in 1883. One year later (1884) the two first-named powers formally promised to maintain the integrity of the islands. Nevertheless, before another twelve months the German consul-general at Apia had procured an agreement by which supreme control was conceded to his nation. Meanwhile, as elsewhere noticed, the peoples of Australia were futilely appealing to the British government to prevent German aggression in the Pacific.¹ The king of Samoa himself wrote to Queen Victoria, at the end of 1884, that he had been coerced into signing the treaty just mentioned. Then followed the outbreak of civil war and the unauthorized proclamation of the United States consul, in 1886, that the group was taken under American protection.² The period of disturbance lasted through several years. In 1887 the Germans, perceiving that they could not manage the legal ruler, espoused the cause of the pretender Tamesese, declared war on Malietoa, captured and transported him first to New Guinea and subsequently to Hamburg. Tamesese was set upon the throne, whereupon a formal demand for a large sum of costs was made upon him, with the intent to depose him and annex Samoa, if he did not comply with this impossible condition.³ In the same year an international congress of the interested parties was held in Washington;⁴ it was

¹ *Supra*, II, 146, 147, note 1 148 et seq.

² For this period, and especially the act of the United States consul, cf. "Annual Cyclopædia" (1886), 792-795; (1887), 728-729.

³ *Ibid.* (1887), 728-732; (1888), 730-732, 733-735.

⁴ *Ibid.* (1888), 732-733.

fruitless; diplomatic correspondence, however, continued, and in 1889 a new conference met in Berlin. This body finally decided upon the acknowledgment of the independence of Samoa, the restoration of King Malietoa, the creation of a supreme court, to consist of one judge, to be appointed; the method for the administration of the municipality of Apia, — of the local council of which the president was to be selected, — and certain details of the land and tariff laws, as well as the means of executing them, and likewise other minor matters.¹

Under that arrangement the islands had been successfully governed for nearly ten years, when the death of Malietoa, in 1898, again precipitated trouble. Germany, it is said, would gladly have embraced any favorable opportunity to assure its own absolute sway; the mutual animosity of the several candidates for the throne was regarded as offering the occasion. The Germans advocated the election of a particular claimant who, nevertheless, was defeated by the people; whereupon appeal was made to the supreme court, of which the chief justice was an American; but he confirmed the popular result. The events which ensued are matters of common knowledge: all know how hostilities between the native chiefs assumed a dangerous phase; how even the peaceful relations of the three countries concerned were strained; and how, ultimately, after another duly appointed international commission had visited the scene of perplexity, the group was dismembered and distributed between Germany and the United States.²

The late kingdom of Samoa was composed of fourteen

¹ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1889), 757-759; for history of the Germans in the Samoan Islands prior to 1895, cf. Schmidt, II, 414-431; for the group generally, Wharton, "Digest," I, sec. 63, 436-442; R. L. Stevenson, "Footnote to History."

² By the terms of the Anglo-German treaty (November 14, 1899), which was accepted and ratified by the United States Senate in February, 1900, Great Britain entirely withdraws from the group. The United States receives Tutuila with the harbor of Pango-Pango and other islands east of 171°; Germany takes those to the west of that meridian, including Savaii and Upolu, at the same time withdrawing any claims to the Tonga or Friendly Islands, and leaving them exclusively under British protection, *supra*, II, 239, note 1; *Contemporary Review*, February, 1900, article by R. W. Thompson; "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 626-627, 1200-1201; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1899), 766 et seq.

islands, having an area of 1701 square miles; in 1897 the population amounted to 35,565 inhabitants, of whom about 450 were whites. The revenue in the same year was \$27,705. The imports aggregated \$346,111 and the exports \$251,158. Of the former trade the Germans controlled a trifle more than one-half, the balance being divided among England, the United States, and other nations; of the latter Germany took to the value of \$227,504.¹

In the western Pacific the Germans have extended their influence in some measure over a considerable number of islands. In 1885-1886, much to the mortification of the Australians, they gained a foothold in the northern portion of New Guinea,² its entire seizure only being obviated by the immediate occupation of the southern coast on behalf of England.³ The territory then taken has been christened Kaiser Wilhelm's Land.⁴ This district, together with its adjacent tributaries, has an area of some 70,000 square miles and 110,000 people more or less. The estimated revenue for 1899 approximated \$19,000 and the expenditures \$183,000; the imperial subvention for the same period was \$164,000. The Germans maintain only a protectorate over the native authorities. The Bismarck Archipelago, secured in 1886, is under a similar form of rule.⁵ It consists of numerous isles lying between 141° and 154° east longitude, and the equator and 8° south latitude; their superficie is 20,000 square miles, and the population 188,000 individuals. Another group, annexed in 1886, is known as the Solomon Islands;⁶ they have an area of 4200 square miles and 45,000 inhabitants with an administration subordinate to that of Kaiser Wilhelm's Land. The government and trade of all the previously mentioned regions were until 1891 in the hands of the German New Guinea Company, which carried on quite a

¹ "Statesman's Year Book" (1899), 982-983.

² "Annual Cyclopædia" (1884), 365; (1885), 415.

³ *Supra*, II, 146, 147, note 1, 148 et seq.

⁴ For Kaiser Wilhelm's Land prior to 1895, cf. Schmidt, II, 304-350.

⁵ Schmidt, II, 350-373; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1887), 329.

⁶ Schmidt, II, 374-386; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1888), 375.

commerce with them; this organization ceased to exist in that year.¹

The only other possessions of Germany in the Pacific prior to 1899 were the Marshall Islands,² over which direct sovereignty was exercised by an imperial commissioner; situated half-way between the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands, they have an area of some 150 square miles and a population of 13,000.³ The total of German acquisitions in the Pacific before 1899 was 100,000 square miles, and they contained 400,000 human beings in round numbers; but Germany then somewhat added to her prestige in that locality by the purchase from Spain of the latter's remaining dependencies. The sale included the Caroline Islands and Palos (with an area of 560 square miles and 40,000 people); and the Marianne or Ladrone Islands, except Guam (area 250 square miles, population 2000); for which the sum of \$3,986,500 was paid. By this transaction Germany has enlarged her dominions by 810 square miles, and her subjects by some 42,000 individuals.⁴ In 1897 Kiauchau Bay and the adjoining districts, comprising an area of 200 square miles and 60,000 people, were also leased from China.⁵

This diversion for the sake of concluding the description of German influence in and on the Pacific has caused the temporary abandonment of the story of the development of colonial aspirations in the fatherland. The project of the authorities to lend credit to the South Sea Company, although futile in its immediate object, nevertheless yielded fruitful returns in its effects upon the masses. The parliamentary debates and the subsequent programme adopted by the government, together with the contest waged in Samoa, served

¹ Schmidt, II, 395-413; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1889), 372; (1891), 330.

² Schmidt, II, 387-394.

³ By treaty of February 12, 1899; for statistics, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 626.

⁴ Generally, for statistics and data of the German possessions in the Pacific, cf. "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 625-627; "Annual Cyclopædia" for recent years.

⁵ "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 624-625; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1897), 138; (1898), 124-125.

as an efficient stimulus to the newly awakened spirit. Prince Bismarck announced himself the champion of colonial expansion, and around him a numerous following rallied. Notwithstanding all the earlier efforts met with determined and generally successful opposition in the Reichstag, still the chancellor, by the use of his absolute prerogatives, which he invariably employed whenever he deemed necessary, contrived to lay the basis for future and stronger growth. The views of that great statesman were fully expressed when, in 1883-1884, the plan to subsidize a postal steamship line between German ports and Eastern Asia and Australia was under discussion. He then declared "his policy had nothing to do with the artificial methods of colonization pursued by other states. He did not propose to take possession of regions where there were no German interests and incite, by artificial means, a German immigration after setting up an administrative system and establishing German garrisons there. His purpose was to extend the protection of the empire to settlements that grow out of the German nation by the spontaneous enterprise of German subjects and exist in territories that do not stand under the recognized sovereignty of any other power."¹

How far Bismarck succeeded, and to what degree the results achieved by Germany are in accord with his opinions as then enunciated, will soon be learned.² The measure for the ocean subsidies, to the annual amount of \$1,000,000, failed, but that disappointment did not occasion any serious delay in the undertakings outlined. A colonial association, having 7000 members throughout Germany, was organized, and likewise, at Hamburg, in 1884, a colonial bank with a capital of \$7,500,000. Subsequently public subscriptions were taken to purchase the land for a provisional establishment in South Africa; and soon afterward the government created a special colonial office. A determined movement was begun to divert

¹ For a discussion of Bismarck's policy, cf. Leroy-Beaulieu, 305-311.

² "Annual Register" (1884), 296; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1884), 361-362; (1889), 372-373.

the current of emigration, which for so long a period had been setting toward America, in the direction of localities under imperial control. Manufacture and industry were also supporting these endeavors with the hope of enlarging the markets for the products of their skill.¹

The Germans naturally turned their attention at once to Africa; elsewhere, save in the Pacific, where they were also diligently seizing the unclaimed islands, there were few, if any, available domains; on this continent, if at all, their colonies must rise. Over portions of it Germany might likewise make some pretence to priority in title, by reason of the brilliant achievements of her numerous hardy explorers — lone pioneers in the task of diffusing German influence not less than in their purpose of bringing back vast funds of knowledge.

The first declaration of positive rights was made on April 24, 1884. Prior to 1880 a Bremen merchant, by name F. A. Luderwitz, had acquired from the natives certain concessions in the district lying north of the Orange River, beyond the frontiers of Cape Colony on the west coast. After several years' negotiations with the British government respecting its conflicting claims, Prince Bismarck announced a German protectorate.² The region known as Angra Pequena included the tract between the Orange River and south latitude 26° 38', and reached inland eighty miles, expressly excepting Walfisch Bay and the Guano Islands, over which Great Britain exercises its sway. In August of that year, by virtue of further agreements obtained from local chieftains, Germany promulgated an extension of its authority on the north to the frontier of the Portuguese possessions. Eventually this line was fixed at the river Cunene, and the eastern boundary was removed further back to 20° east longitude or even 21° at some points.³ The entire country is relatively barren because

¹ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1884), 296.

² For the negotiations concerning Angra Pequena, "Annual Register" (1884), 297-299; Lucas, IV, 308-312; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1884), 363.

³ For the history of Angra Pequena prior to 1895, cf. Schmidt, II, 198-280; for an estimate of the value of this region to Germany, Leroy-Beaulieu, 311-315; for recent events, "Annual Cyclopædia," title "Cape Colony and South Africa."

of the scarcity of water; its chief importance consists in the value of the trade which passes through it from the interior. The area is 322,450 square miles, and there is a population of some 200,000 mixed inhabitants; the whites number 1840 individuals. The budget for 1899 showed a revenue and expenditure each amounting to \$1,780,000, the imperial contribution being to the sum of \$1,644,342; the imports were \$1,396,650 and the exports \$217,956. Aside from some petty quarrels with the aborigines, the occupation has generally been peaceful and uneventful. While still under one imperial commissioner, different sections of the protectorate are given distinct names, the northern district being called Damaraland, and the southern, Nomaqualand.¹

German supremacy was likewise, in 1884, asserted over other territories farther to the north. Numerous commercial houses of Hamburg and Bremen had been trading for more than a quarter of a century along the seaboard between Liberia and the French Congo. The firm of Woermann alone had been doing business in Liberia since 1852, in the Gaboon and Batanga since 1862, and in the Cameroon district since 1868. English rivals, exasperated by these pretensions, were, in 1884, instigating the negroes to the pillage of these establishments when a German gunboat arrived; Dr. Nachtigal, the emperor's special representative, was on board. He first hoisted the German flag at Bay Beach and Bageida, proclaiming protection over twelve miles of the shore-line, and likewise secured recognition from the local king. He then proceeded to the Cameroons, where he again raised his standard at several points, taking possession of all that inviting tract between the realms of the British Niger Company on the north and the French Congo on the south;² ultimately the boundaries of the protectorate in the Cameroons and Togoland were fixed by special delimitation treaties,

¹ For statistics and other data, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 622.

² Lucas, III, 150; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1884), 364-365. For the terms of the Congo Conference of February, 1885, cf. "Annual Register" (1885), 239-240; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1884), 170; (1885), 189 et seq.

in 1890, when the so-called partition of Africa took place; and subsequently, in 1893, another convention more accurately defined them.¹

Of German rule in this locality little can be said, for sufficient time has not yet elapsed to form a durable opinion. Both in the Cameroons and Togoland an imperial commissioner resides. Togoland has an approximate area of 33,000 square miles and a population of 2,500,000 individuals, of whom only 113 are whites. The revenue in 1899 was \$130,900, of which the imperial government contributed about one-half. The imports in 1898-1899 amounted to \$721,044 in value, and the exports to \$497,738; the latter are chiefly palm oil, kernels, gum, and ivory. The Cameroons have an area of 191,130 square miles and 3,500,000 people, of whom about 425 are Europeans. The local revenue in 1899 was \$297,827; the imperial grant necessary to cover the expenditures for 1900 is \$285,052. The imports in 1898-1899 were reported as \$2,533,071, and the exports as \$1,224,705. Palm products, ivory, and rubber are the principal articles of shipment.²

The interest of Germany in East Africa first developed out of the operations of the East African Society in Usambara and vicinity.³ A protectorate was declared, in 1885, over these districts, which, in 1886, by British consent, was extended, as stated in a previous chapter, to include a large region in the interior, back of the Zanzibar coast.⁴ It has also been told how the Germans, after first leasing the southern section of the seaboard from the sultan, managed by an agreement with Great Britain practically to oust him. Since then they have frequently been obliged to do severe fighting in order to maintain their position, and have also, temporarily, encountered serious checks. Subsequently to the revolt of the Arabs, in 1889, the Company was dissolved and the administration was directly assumed by the government.⁵ As in the case of

¹ For history of German West Africa, cf. Schmidt, II, 1-198.

² For statistics and other data, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 621-622.

³ For early history of German East Africa prior to 1895, cf. Schmidt, I, 1-276.

⁴ *Supra*, II, 248-249, "Annual Cyclopædia" (1885), 795; (1890), 271-273.

⁵ For the German East Africa Company, cf. Bonnasieux, 528-529.

the other German-African possessions, the frontiers have from time to time been adjusted and determined by treaties with the European powers which control the adjoining territories. The present area of the protectorate is believed to be 384,000 square miles, with a population approximating 8,000,000 individuals, of whom about 1100 are whites. It is in this neighborhood perhaps that the Germans are the most active in undertaking agricultural experiments; and as a matter of fact the natives are mostly engaged in the tillage of the soil. Among all the German acquisitions the conditions here approach the nearest to those of a colony. The budget for 1899-1900 fixed the revenue and expenditure at \$2,021,810, the imperial subvention amounting to \$1,424,430. In 1898 the imports reached \$4,010,932 and the exports \$1,427,031. Ivory, rubber, sesame, gum, and cocoanuts are the leading items shipped abroad.¹

Although the narrative of the various domains making up the German colonial realm has thus been traced, only the general results of the activities of this people can be appreciated; for their efforts, first beginning in 1884, barely comprise a period of fifteen years. The estimates of area and population of the dependencies over which their influence now prevails are:²—

	DATE OF ACQUISITION	AREA SQUARE MILES	POPULATION
In Oceanica :			
Kaiser Wilhelm's Land	1885-1886	70,000	110,000
Bismarck Archipelago	1885	20,000	188,000
Solomon Islands	1886	4,200	45,000
Marshall Islands	1886	150	13,000
Caroline Islands and Palos . .	1899	560	40,000
Marianne Islands	1899	250	2,000
Samoan Islands :			
Savali	1899	600	12,500
Upolu	1899	340	16,600
Total		96,160	427,000

¹ For statistics, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 623-624.

² The following table is from the "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 620.

	DATE OF ACQUISITION	AREA SQUARE MILES	POPULATION
<i>Amount brought forward . .</i>		96,160	427,000
In China :			
Kiauchau Bay	1897	200	60,000
In Africa :			
Togoland	1884	33,000	2,500,000
Cameroons	1884	191,130	3,500,000
German Southwest Africa . . .	1884-1890	322,450	200,000
German East Africa	1885-1890	384,180	8,000,000
Total		930,760	14,200,000
Grand Total		1,027,120	14,687,000

In short Germany now exercises its authority over a colonial empire in extent only inferior to the dominions of Great Britain and those of France, and containing more than 14,000,000 human beings. To have achieved such an enviable position in spite of domestic and foreign opposition is justly a reason for pride. But when the details of this mighty fabric are examined some peculiarities must necessarily be noted, which threaten to retard the progress of these communities and to charge their development with enormous burdens. Two facts must have attracted attention in the brief synopsis given of the conditions existing in these different possessions: the small number of Europeans residing in them, and the almost universal excess of expenditures over receipts. The situation of most of these territories under the tropics at once accounts for the scarcity of whites. Unfortunately, when Germany entered the lists the more desirable portions of the earth's surface had already been appropriated by other states; hence the only available openings were in the torrid zones. Geographical location must always, to a serious degree, militate against the prosperity of these acquisitions; on the one hand it naturally limits the European element in

the population, while on the other it involves vast disbursements for the home government. The policy proposed by Prince Bismarck has also been subsequently modified. The present colonies of Germany do not by any means offer the prospect of a haven for its restless classes; it will be a long time, if ever, before the stream of emigration can be induced to turn in the direction of the equatorial lands of Africa or Oceanica, rather than toward the United States.¹

The abolition of the restrictions first fixed by the nation for its participation in the management of the domestic concerns of these distant realms has likewise been inevitable. The original design was simply to issue charters to duly organized mercantile corporations into whose hands not merely the commerce, but also the control, of certain districts should be intrusted; the New Guinea and various other African companies were therefore established, but the delusion of non-interference did not long continue. It was soon realized that the mere proclamation of suzerainty over a tract and its cession to a private association would not create success nor even traffic. Such enterprises languished and showed visible signs of dissolution without official support; it was then that the state, to protect the national interests in the regions acquired, was obliged to intervene, to advance financial aid, to elaborate administrations, and generally to assume the responsibility of public affairs. Complications with the natives sometimes occurred, wars followed, and Germany, much against its will, found itself drawn into the complex problems of real colonization. In recent years the people are manifesting more and more unanimity in this extension of the imperial system. With its accustomed energy, common sense, and irresistible tenacity, this race is daily applying its best thought and greatest strength to the promotion of the resources and trade of its newly annexed dependencies beyond the sea. Be assured that some method will be devised to

¹ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1889), 368. Moreover, German emigration is of late years much smaller than formerly. The increasing prosperity of the fatherland accounts for this change.

render them profitable, and that, with the two characteristics of diligence and toil, Germany will within the twentieth century erect a domain equalling, in area and wealth, any other which has preceded it.

The colonial aspirations of Italy date from 1880, when the inauguration of a station at Assab Bay on the Red Sea was contemplated, but not effected.¹ The opportunity tendered by Great Britain in 1882, to coöperate in the solution of the Egyptian difficulties was also declined.² Finally, in 1885, with the tacit consent of England, the Italians seized the town of Massowah and several neighboring forts, which had previously been under the jurisdiction of the Egyptian government; subsequently they also occupied the Bay of Assab.³ This nation thus became involved in dispute with Abyssinia. King John, of the latter country, regarded these acts as an infringement on his rights, refused to negotiate, and even undertook to expel the aggressors; but all his efforts were in vain.⁴ Hostilities, breaking out in 1885 between the Abyssinians and the Soudanese dervishes, persisted intermittently until 1889. The Abyssinian monarch, who fought bravely in defence of his land, would certainly have conquered, had it not been for the treacherous conduct of one of his own subject princes, Menelik. The Italians had, how-

¹ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1880), 409.

² *Ibid.* (1886), 438; (1883), 452.

³ *Ibid.* (1885), 504-506; for treaty between Italy and England, "Annual Register" (1885), 223. The terms are: "Italy will assist England in the enterprises in Egypt and will raise her voice in behalf of England in the European council for the settling of the Egyptian question, on every occasion when England appeals to her. Italy will occupy all the territory on the shores of the Red Sea lying between the port of Massowah and the French colony of Obock. In the event of any political question relating to Tripoli, England undertakes to favor the occupation of that country by Italy. England agrees, moreover, to encourage Italy in founding colonies and in taking possession of territory on the west coast of Africa." Also Stillman, "Union of Italy," 377-379. There was a strong opposition in the country and in Parliament to the movement, it being argued that England had shown at Aden, Singapore, and Hong Kong that a mere foothold sufficed for purposes of commerce, Taylor, "Italy," 99.

⁴ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1887), 1; (1888), 2-3.

ever, for their own advantage, fomented discord, so that while, in 1889, John was striving to overcome the heavy odds of the foreign enemy, his rival formally declared war on him. In a battle with the dervishes in March, John was mortally wounded. Menelik immediately proclaimed himself the fallen ruler's successor, and after a brief struggle succeeded, with Italian assistance, in gaining the throne. Signor Crispi, then prime minister of Italy, embraced this favorable juncture to exact a treaty from the new king by which the Italians were granted a protectorate over Ethiopia, including the places actually held by them, — on condition that they open the port of Massowah, — and the concession of many commercial privileges. This compact was ratified on September 25, 1889. On October 13 the Italian cabinet, much to the surprise of Menelik, announced its suzerainty over entire Abyssinia, claiming that the text of the recent instrument should be so construed. Although the Abyssinians were greatly angered at this procedure, peaceful relations were for the time maintained.¹ The territory thus annexed counted 175,000 square miles and 3,500,000 inhabitants, mostly Christians and displaying a certain standard of civilization.²

The Italians obtained from the sultan of Zanzibar, in 1892, the cession of a protectorate over that part of the coast of Somaliland lying to the north of the British sphere of influence and adjoining the interior regions over which they had, since 1889, exercised their authority. The Italian Benadir Company subsequently, in 1896, secured a charter for fifty years over this district, conferring both mercantile and administrative control. An agreement was negotiated, in 1891, between Great Britain and Italy, defining their respective dominions in the neighborhood of the Red Sea, and giving the latter permission to occupy Kassala, which was accomplished in 1894.³ The extent of the Italian realms, so fixed, was esti-

¹ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1889), 1-3, 471; (1890), 1-3, 458-459.

² Eritrea was a colony without colonists, a land where the Arabs and Greeks had become rich in the slave trade, Taylor, 101.

³ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1897), 289; (1898), 233.

mated in 1893 to be 637,000 square miles, with a population approximating 4,000,000.

After the proclamation of Italian supremacy over Abyssinia, Menelik, vigorously protesting, had withdrawn beyond the boundaries of his own ancestral kingdom of Shoa. While actively engaged in organizing resistance, he was preparing his people to throw off the foreign yoke. The real trouble began when, in 1895, the Italians sent an expedition against the province of Tigre in an endeavor to push forward their frontier line. The conquest seemed about to be easily achieved, when suddenly 100,000 Abyssinian warriors appeared in front of the invading forces, which numbered scarcely 28,000 men. Little by little the advance parties of the Italian troops were captured or driven back, until, on February 29, 1896, the two main armies met near Adowa. The Italians suffered a crushing defeat, leaving 12,000 dead on the field of battle.¹ Two months later Kassala was also evacuated, owing to dervish attacks, but, being afterward retaken, was eventually surrendered to the Egyptian government on December 25, 1897.²

In Italy the disaster at Adowa caused the downfall of the Crispi ministry; in Africa it brought complete independence to Abyssinia. By the final treaty with Menelik, the Italians retained simply their other former territories; of them, those to the north of Abyssinia had been already constituted into the colony of Eritrea; the others, to the south of Menelik's empire, comprise the Somaliland protectorate. The dependencies of this nation are therefore much smaller now than previously. Eritrea has an area of 88,500 square miles and a population of 450,000 persons; its annual expenditures reach \$2,000,000, of which all but \$400,000 must be paid by the parent state, which, since 1882, has spent more than \$60,000,000 in this manner. In 1898 the imports at Massowah amounted to \$2,800,000 in value; figures for the export trade are unavailable. That part of Somaliland over which the

¹ "Annual Register" (1896), 249; "Annual Cyclopædia" (1895), 1-3; (1896), 1-7; Stillman, 390.

² "Annual Cyclopædia" (1897), 427.

Italians exercise their rule has an extent of 100,000 square miles and 400,000 individuals. The total area of these possessions is thus 188,500 square miles, and the number of their inhabitants approximates 850,000.¹ Comment on this result is scarcely required. Italy, after a brilliant effort to follow the example of other countries in the establishment of a colonial domain, has failed. The enormous expense requisite for the fruition of these designs being far beyond ordinary resources, has strongly tended to increase financial burdens. It is therefore safe to predict that the future enterprises of this kingdom will for many years be limited.

The one single phase of colonization which remains for consideration is connected with the foundation and rise of the Congo Free State.² The International African Association was created in 1876, under the patronage of the king of the Belgians, for the purpose of assuring more harmonious action in systematic research and in the commercial development of Africa, as well as to impose greater obstacles upon the slave traffic.³ The German African Society and the French Section were organized as branches, and each undertook to act in certain designated localities. At first the Belgians began their labors on the east coast in the Zanzibar region, instituting caravan routes and trading outposts.⁴ But upon Stanley's return, in 1878, from his expedition to the Congo, the king offered to appoint him special agent of the Association and to furnish him the means to revisit the scene of his earlier work,

¹ For statistics and data of the Italian possessions, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 768.

² As early as 1860 King Leopold desired a new market for his people. "I claim for Belgium her share of the sea," Boulger, 4.

³ For Brussels Conference, *ibid.* 7-19. It decided upon means to "explore scientifically the unknown parts of Africa, to facilitate the opening of routes which shall enable civilization to penetrate into the interior of the African continent, to discover the means for the suppression of the slave trade among the negro races in Africa," *ibid.*

⁴ The first expedition, which was to organize means of reaching the interior, started October, 1877; the second, which founded a station at Karema, May, 1879; the third, a few months after the second, and a fourth came still later. The political influence of Belgium in Africa did not begin until after 1882.

in order to inaugurate a line of communications along that river. Stanley accepted the task.¹ Owing to his activity both France and Portugal subsequently endeavored to confirm their dormant claims to these same districts. The Portuguese based their pretensions on former exploration and occupation, while the French attempted, by treaties with the chieftains, to make good their title, secretly hoping thus to be able to augment the extent of country over which they were in undisputed control. Stanley, cognizant of these schemes, tried to anticipate them by securing from the native tribes the grant of paramount rights, at the same time aiming to maintain an open highway from the interior to the sea.²

The disputes between the International Association, on the one hand, and France and Portugal, on the other, had become so aggravated, prior to 1884, that it was deemed necessary to summon a congress for their adjustment. The United States and Germany had already recognized the Association as a friendly state. The West African Conference assembled in Berlin on November 15, 1884, representatives from nearly all the European powers and the United States being in attendance;³ the result of its deliberations, embodied in the convention signed February 26, 1885,⁴ was the award to the International Association of 1,100,000 square miles of territory — with an estimated population of 40,000,000 inhabitants — along the Congo and its tributaries, within which it was at liberty to organize an independent body politic with the full attributes of sovereignty.⁵ A constitution was afterward elaborated on the plan of an English colonial establishment. The chief declaration was perpetual neutrality. A governor, three deputies, and a cabinet were provided, while the seat of government was fixed at Brussels, Belgium.

¹ For Stanley's trip, Boulger, 27 et seq.; Burrows, 11.

² For the early history of the International Association of the Congo, "Annual Cyclopaedia" (1884), 165-170.

³ For the history of the conference and its results, "Annual Cyclopaedia" (1884), 170-171; (1885), 189-193.

⁴ The text is given by Boulger, Appendix, 393 et seq.

⁵ For a prophetic view of the future of the Congo Free Beaulieu, 321-328.

The king of the Belgians, who had spent \$5,000,000 of his personal means in Africa, promised the Congo Free State an annual subsidy of \$200,000, and, with the consent of the Belgian Parliament, proclaiming himself its ruler, proceeded to organize the administration.¹

Although Belgium had at that time neither any authority, responsibility, nor privileges in the affairs of the Dark Continent, its people, as individuals, were nevertheless, under the leadership of King Leopold, active in the management of the old International Association, in the formation of the newly created state, and in the exploration of the regions thus brought under their virtual, if not technical, control. Belgians were almost exclusively in the employ of the Free State, their capital was the most engaged in its development, and their merchants and manufacturers were vigorously striving to win supremacy in its trade. Thus within a few years that little land and its citizens had acquired the most important interests in the Congo.²

On the other hand, Belgium is peculiarly adapted for colonial enterprises; covering only an area of 11,373 square miles, and having a population of 6,669,732 individuals, this kingdom is the most densely settled in Europe. In spite of a steady emigration—chiefly over the frontier into France—the number of its inhabitants is still rapidly increasing. Both agriculture and industry are highly productive, while the domestic consumption is far from sufficient to absorb their output. Proximity to the great markets of London and Paris, together with the special character of some crops, such as flax and chicory, prevent any permanently disastrous consequences to the farming community. In manufacture it is different; here the overstock is enormous, and if untrammelled by foreign restrictions Belgian goods would, by virtue of their low cost, easily compete abroad. The nations of the European continent, as well as Great Britain and the United States, have, however, in recent years, by official regulations, the provisions

¹ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1885), 191-192.

² Boulger, Ch. XX, "Belgium and the Congo," especially, 377-378.

of many of their tariffs, and other legislation, placed formidable obstacles to the introduction of Belgian wares. Hence serious difficulties, constantly growing more and more critical, in the disposition of these articles. The country is in the unique position of having a surplus of people and an excess of products—at a stage ripe for colonial effort.¹

If the situation be further examined it will also be found that Belgium, from an economic standpoint, is in excellent condition, — the finances prosperous and the inhabitants many of them rich, few poverty-stricken, and the majority with resources adequate to their respective rank in life. Politically, religiously, and socially the divisions of party, church, and class are most acute. With the largest degree of actual liberty enjoyed by any nationality on the European continent, the Belgians are the most tenacious in their demands for its further extension. Officially one religion only is recognized, but, in fact, under its garb are concealed bitter animosities of belief, ranging from atheism to strict mediæval Catholicism. Politics, creed, and race determine the broad lines of association in society, while ancestry, family, occupation, and personal prejudice separate the members of every community into factions and clans, between which insurmountable barriers are erected. Ethnologically, two stocks—the old Dutch and the old Celt—are represented under the modern names of Flemings and Walloons; while over the entire land is spread, as the superior ruling element, that section of both these groups which, in the days of Napoleon, adopted the French language, customs, and ideals. Owing to these distinctions, which penetrate every phase of life, a perpetual unrest and consequent discontent permeate the masses—circumstances which, as already upon several occasions observed, are conducive to colonial ventures.

For these reasons, then, it cannot be a matter of surprise that Belgium, as a nation, has, notwithstanding marked variances of domestic opinion, evidenced a manifest disposition to

¹ Cf. Alp. de Haulleville, "*Les Aptitudes Colonisatrices des Belges*" (Brussels, 1898).

accept as its own colony the Congo Free State. In 1890 an agreement was reached between the two governments, on the one hand guaranteeing to the Congo a loan of \$5,000,000, and on the other granting to the kingdom the option to annex the state in 1900. Meanwhile the former also acquired a certain supervision over the latter's finances. Coincident with this measure was the testamentary declaration of the king that he bequeaths to Belgium all the rights and interests which he may have in the Congo at the time of his death.¹ An explicit treaty of annexation was concluded in January, 1895, and was subsequently laid before the Belgian Parliament for ratification; after three months' debate, in which violent opposition to the project was evoked, the cabinet suddenly withdrew it.² Since then reference to that subject has been avoided; what the result will be if the proposition is again advocated it is difficult to foresee.

In spite of such antagonism the Congo is now, to every intent and purpose, a dependency of Belgium, under the influence of which country remarkable progress has been achieved in the development of natural resources. The hostile Arab tribes have been disciplined, slavery and cannibalism abolished, and the boundary questions with European states owning adjacent territories amicably settled. Many exploring expeditions have brought fruitful returns, and civilization has been speedily introduced to the more remote districts. Without exaggeration, it may be asserted that from an economic point of view the advance of the Free State has been phenomenal; in 1886 local taxation was sufficient to cover only five per cent of the expenditures, but now the administration is almost entirely self-supporting. According to the latest statistics available, the revenues in 1897 amounted to \$1,873,800 and the disbursements to \$2,028,000. The budget for 1900 fixed them respectively at \$5,251,300 and

¹ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1890), 163.

² *Ibid.* (1895), 145, 85; for text of this treaty, Boulger, 381. In June two "Projets de Loi" took the place of the Treaty of January, 1895. One allowed six and one-half million francs to the Congo state, and the other loaned five million francs to the Railway Company, *ibid.* 386.

\$5,546,250. The river Congo, navigable for 1000 miles from its mouth, has a regular steamship service plying on it; a railroad 260 miles in length has been built, and is being extended; frequent and rapid communication between Antwerp and Congo ports has also been organized.¹

Commercially the trade of the Free State is steadily increasing; in this respect the statement of exports and imports will be interesting:—

	1894	1898
Total imports	\$2,287,827	\$4,621,000
Total exports	1,690,993	4,433,000
Total general trade	\$3,978,820	\$9,054,000
Imports from Belgium	\$1,201,986	\$3,094,000
Exports to Belgium	1,234,872	3,866,000
Total trade with Belgium	\$2,436,858	\$6,960,000

Of the whole volume of business Belgium, as it appears, transacts more than three-fourths. By reason of various treaties negotiated with other powers, the dimensions of the Congo Free State have been slightly reduced; it has likewise been found that the original estimate of its population was excessive. The area is now calculated to be very nearly 900,000 square miles, and the inhabitants are believed to number 30,000,000 individuals, of whom 1600 are Europeans—one-half of the latter being Belgians.²

The creation of this establishment is unique; but the characteristics of its later political career manifest a strong tendency toward assimilation with the usual type of colony, dependent upon some European nation. In this instance

¹ "Annual Cyclopædia" (1897), 146-149; (1898), 137-139.

² For statistical data, "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 479-482. For the change the railroad will make, Boulger, Ch. XVII, 297 et seq.; Burrows, xvii-xviii; The International (Chicago, March, 1900) article by H. J. Sherman who enthusiastically praises the work of the Belgians in the Congo.

it would seem that by virtue of circumstances Belgium is to be ultimately obliged, as the adoptive metropolis, to assume all the functions, duties, and responsibilities of the parent state, a rôle which in a great measure has already been accepted. Fortunately the Belgians are well equipped and, perhaps unconsciously, ripe for this task. The relationship between Belgium and the Congo Free State — whether or not it be more closely drawn — should in every aspect prove as profitable to the one as beneficial to the other.

Not any other country, technically speaking, has colonial possessions. Austria-Hungary, however, controls Bosnia and Herzegovina,¹ which properly form part of the Ottoman Empire. Their present occupation was authorized by the Treaty of Berlin of 1878. The two provinces comprise 23,262 square miles, with 1,568,092 residents. In them Austria maintains, at its own expense, a military force of 22,944 men. The local revenue approximately pays the ordinary civil disbursements.²

Turkey likewise has three tributary regions; they are Egypt, Bulgaria, and Samos. The first-named has already been briefly described as a British protectorate.³ Bulgaria is a principality erected in 1878, in the administration of which a commissioner of the Porte assists. After the expulsion of the Turkish troops, in 1885, East Roumelia was annexed.⁴ The total area now is 38,080 square miles, and the people number 3,310,713. The imports in 1898 amounted to \$14,546,050 and exports to \$13,307,400. The chief article shipped abroad is wheat.⁵ Samos is the island so famous in antiquity,⁶ which lies in the eastern Mediterranean off the shores of Asia Minor. It measures 180 square miles and has 52,820 inhabitants. The imports in 1898 were to the value

¹ Cf. W. J. Stielman's book on Herzegovina.

² "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 403-404.

³ *Supra*, II, 252 et seq.

⁴ For Bulgaria before and after the union of 1885, cf. Seignobos, "Political History of Europe," 664-669.

⁵ "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 1111-1117.

⁶ *Supra*, I, 8.

of \$890,569 and the exports \$806,900. The revenues and expenditures, almost equally balanced, reach \$155,702 per annum.¹

Among the states of Asia only one here requires notice. China rules over several dependencies, including Manchuria,² Mongolia, Tibet, Jungaria, and East Turkestan; their combined territory adds up 2,881,560 square miles, or more than twice the size of the sovereign country; but their population is only 16,680,000, while that of China is 386,000,000. The jurisdiction exercised over them by the emperor, although duly acknowledged and organized, is mainly for the purpose of collecting revenue.³

Some more extended reference to the concessions recently made by China to the various European powers may, in the course of this work, have been expected; but nearly all mention of these activities has heretofore been purposely avoided, and any such anticipation which may have been cherished cannot now be satisfied. The acquisition of naval stations, of spheres of influence, of industrial and commercial privileges in the far East forms to-day the debatable topic of politics rather than the subject of historical record. The problems opened for consideration are manifold. This modern departure may mean the inauguration of new methods, or it may be the beginning of the application of colonial principles to the domains of the Celestial Empire; if so, it will involve a struggle for the partition of these realms compared with which the nineteenth-century distribution of Africa will appear insignificant. The contest for supremacy has scarcely commenced; the discussion of its results must be referred to those students who, in the future, may be more capable than contemporaries to review its progress, to weigh its causes, and to judge its effects.

¹ *Ibid.* (1900), 1118.

² The line of the trans-Siberian railway involves a Russian protectorate over all Manchuria, Williams, "History of China," 416.

³ "Statesman's Year Book" (1900), 457.

CHAPTER XXVIII

CONCLUSION

THE history of colonization from the earliest times to the present day has been outlined. Not any better summary of existing conditions can be given than a statement showing the number of colonies respectively belonging to each nation, together with their total area and population. The following table, compiled from official publications, supplies this information. For the sake of comparison similar details of the parent countries are also noted:¹—

	No. of Colo- nies ²	Area (Square Miles)		Population	
		Mother Country	Colonies, etc.	Mother Country	Colonies, etc.
United Kingdom ³	50	120,979	11,605,238	40,559,954	345,222,339
France	33	204,092	3,740,756	38,517,975	56,401,860
Germany	13	208,830	1,027,120	52,279,901	14,687,000
Netherlands . .	3	12,648	782,862	5,074,632	35,115,711
Portugal	9	36,038	801,100	5,049,729	9,148,707
Spain	3	197,670	243,877	17,565,632	136,000
Italy	2	110,646	188,500	31,856,675	850,000
Austria-Hungary	2	241,032	23,570	41,244,811	1,568,092
Denmark	3	15,289	86,634	2,185,335	114,229
Russia	3	8,660,395	255,550	128,932,173	15,684,000
Turkey	4	1,111,741	465,000	23,834,500	14,956,236
China	5	1,336,841	2,881,560	386,000,000	16,680,000
United States ⁴	6	3,557,000	172,091	77,000,000	10,544,817
Total	136	15,813,201	22,273,858	850,103,317	521,108,791

¹ This table is prepared from statistics given by "Statesman's Year Book" for 1900.

² The number of colonies in some instances can only be stated approximately, as in certain cases much depends upon the view which is taken of the existing relationship.

³ Includes feudatory states of India, with an area of 731,944 square miles, and a population in 1891 of 66,050,479.

⁴ Inclusive of Cuba, 45,872 square miles; 1,572,797 inhabitants.

The colonies, protectorates, and other dependencies are thus seen now to be 136 in number. Two-fifths of the land surface of the globe is occupied by them, and they contain one-third of the entire human family. Two features merit particular notice: first, all the ruling powers are situated in the north temperate zone, and secondly, three-fourths of the colonial inhabitants live under the tropics. The colonies annually buy more than \$1,500,000,000 worth of goods, of which forty per cent is purchased in the markets of their respective metropolises; while of the colonial export trade the latter control an equal share. Statistics also tend to prove, if the general results achieved be borne in mind, that the possessions of the modern era are self-supporting. This fact is nearly mathematically true of the British system.¹ The preponderance of Great Britain is, from the practical standpoint, most remarkable. How this numerically small community maintains its sovereignty over a realm larger than the dependent domain of all other states combined, and over a population more than twice as great as their united colonial subjects, is indeed marvellous; and as an object-lesson deserves special attention. The annals of other participants in this sphere of activity, although less successful and permanent in their effects, cannot fail to furnish many examples and numerous warnings.

If elsewhere it may have seemed that colonization is sometimes regarded as a permanent condition which will continue in the coming ages, it is simply because it is deemed one of those inherent relationships arising from differences among individuals which must endure until the happy millennium of absolute equality in capacity and intelligence shall have dawned. Although in the abstract this connection may still long persist, some questions must ever be open. Whether any one people may be fitted for colonizers, or if a certain region be properly the object of their efforts, as well as whether a country has need or will find profit in colonies, and if it can confer benefits of like proportion upon its wards, must always remain within the scope of legitimate discussion. Such prob-

¹ *Supra*, II, 275.

lems must sooner or later be presented to every progressive nation for due consideration and solution. Wherever relevant, the endeavor has been made to review the reasons which have decided colonizing races to enter upon their task, as also to follow the main lines of their development. It may perhaps be asked why some special attention is not now given to those topics which in colonial life are so important, such as labor, agriculture, treatment of native populations, administration, finance, trade policies, education, religion, and civilization. The practical experience of the past has indeed been more or less fully recorded; and the theoretical elucidation of these matters would not here be appropriate, for they form the problems of colonization rather than its narrative. Their detailed investigation might, moreover, lead to polemic controversy.

Historically, colonization is a great theme; for from the most remote ages colonial enterprise has been potent in both the moral and the intellectual advancement of the world. If at the time the results attained have been barren or mischievous, the correction of their evils has inevitably followed. If one promoter has failed, his work has been undertaken and the better consummated by another more fortunate. One of the most pronounced features connected with all systems has been the rise of liberty. Even under the goad of tyranny and oppression the aspiration for freedom has been cherished, until ultimately the distasteful bonds have been broken; indeed, the period of existence as a colony has generally been shortened by arbitrary repression on the part of the parent state. What magnificent characters have been reared in the struggle for liberty! And how ably these hero patriots have been seconded by the unnamed and unsung, but not unnumbered, masses of their fellow-citizens!

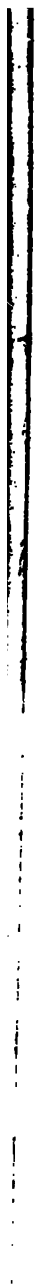
What study more interesting or useful than to trace the evolution of a people from a few poverty-stricken, exiled, helpless individuals; how they combated the elements, the wild beasts, and the ruthless savages; how they maintained themselves, fostered agriculture, created industry,

amassed wealth, educated their children, and taught them never to forget the tenets of their fathers; how such a community grew not more in riches than in intelligence; how it increased, not only in men, but in ideas; how it reached maturity, — financially, socially, religiously, and politically; and how, when the due time arrived, it obtained its release from allegiance to the mother state. What more imposing thoughts!

When the achievements of mankind are conscientiously contemplated, is there not reason to believe that equally as great progress, and even to a higher degree than in the past, will yet be accomplished? If the facts of history be well understood, and the principles of colonial policy be accurately appreciated and carefully observed by the statesmen of the future, the stronger, better, and more enlightened doctrines to be developed by them must inevitably inure to the truer welfare of the colony not less than to the more substantial advantage of the nation; in other words, this activity — wherever it exists and under whatever name or disguise — will then accrue to the happiness of humanity. For colonization in reality is only the expression of civilization.

1871

APPENDIX



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INDEX TO NAMES OF AUTHORS MENTIONED IN BIBLIOGRAPHY AND FOOTNOTES

A

Abbad, J., 339.
Abbott, Evelyn, 328.
Acosta, J., 337, 339.
Adams, G. B., 333.
Adderly, Sir Chas. B., 345.
Agustin, San, 339.
Alcedo, Antonio de, 350.
Alford, H. S., 349.
Altmeyer, J. J., 340.
Amari, Michel, 333.
Ammianus Marcellus, 329.
Ammirato, S., 333.
Anderson, Adam, 326.
Andrews, John, 346.
Anton, G. K., 341.
Arber, E., 346.
Arends, J. P., 340.
Aristotle, 327, 328.
Arnold, W., 353.
Ashley, W. J., 332.
Aube, H., 344.
Auber, Peter, 351.

B

Babelon, Ernest, 327.
Bacon, Lord, 344.
Bailly, J. S., 342.
Balducci-Pegolotti, F., 332.
Balfour, 264.
Ballivian y Roseas, 338.
Ballou, M. M., 351.
Bancroft, Geo., 346.
Bancroft, H. H., 339.
Bannon, W., 348.

Barron, Wm., 327.
Barros, Arana D., 338.
Barthold, F. W., 334.
de Beauchamp, A., 335.
de Beaufort, M., 330.
Becker, Wm. A., 330.
Beckford, Wm., 351.
Beetemé, G., 340.
Begg, A., 347.
Beloch, Julius, 330.
Bembo, Pietro, 334.
Bent, J. T., 333, 349.
Benzoni, Girolamo, 337.
Billiard, A., 325.
Bindloss, H., 349.
Birch (editor), 336.
Birdwood, Sir Geo. and Foster, Wm.,
351.
Blackmar, F. W., 338.
Blackstone, Sir Wm., 344.
van den Bogaerde de ter-Brugge,
A. J. L., Baron, 340.
Boissier, Gaston, 327.
Bompiani, S., 354.
Bonnassieux, P., 326.
Borde, P. G. L., 339.
Bordier, A., 342.
Botta, Carlo, 346.
Boughton, Willis, 326.
Boulger, D. C., 350, 354.
Boys, H. S., 341.
Brenkmann, Hendric, 333.
Bridges, G. W., 350.
Briggs, J., 338.
Broadley, A. M., 344.
Brodhead, J. R., 346.

Brougham, Henry, Lord, 325.
 Brown, A. S. and G. G., 184.
 Browning, Oscar, 333.
 Bruce, John, 352.
 Brunialti, A., 354.
 Bryce, G., 349.
 Buchon, J. A. C., 332.
 Buller, Charles, 345.
 Burke, Ed., 346.
 Burney, Capt. Jas., 343.
 Burrows, Guy, 354.
 Bury, Viscount M. P., 325.

C

Cabot, John, 345.
 Caesar, Julius, 330.
 Caffaro, de Taschifellone, 333.
 Caillet, J., 342.
 Cairnes, Prof. J. E., 325.
 Caldecott, A., 345.
 Calvert, A. F., 348.
 Calvert, Jas., 355.
 Campbell, C. T., 349.
 de Canale, Martin, 334.
 Caneja, J. D., 339.
 Canini, Italo E., 339.
 Cantu, Cesare, 326.
 Cappa, F., 338.
 Carlyle, Thos., 353.
 Caro, J., 353.
 de las Casas, Bartolomé, 337.
 Cassiodorus, M. A., 331.
 Castagneda, F. L. de, 336.
 Castelar y Ripoll, E., 338.
 Castelnau, Albert, 333.
 Cerisier, C., 325.
 di Cesnola, Gen. A. P., 329.
 das Chagas, C. J. Rodrigues, 336.
 Chailley-Bert, J., 344.
 de Champigny, Comte Franz, 330.
 Charpentier, F., 343.
 Child, Josiah, 352.
 Church, Alfred J., 327.
 Cicero, 330.
 Clarkson, Thos., 350.
 Clay, J. C., 353.

Clement, P., 342.
 Coke, Thos., 350.
 Colenso, Miss, 177.
 Colquhoun, J. C., 350.
 Collingridge, Geo., 348.
 Collins, David, 348.
 de la Concepcion, Juan, 339.
 Cook, Capt. Jas., 345.
 Coquilhat, C., 354.
 Cotton, Sir Arthur, 352.
 Cotton and Payne, 345.
 Couto, Diogo do, 336.
 Cox, Geo. W., 328.
 Coxe, Archd. W., 336.
 Creasy, Edward, 345.
 Cunningham, W., 344.
 Curtius, C., 328.
 Curtius, Ernest, 328.
 Curzon, Geo., 354.

D

Daendel, H. W., 340.
 Dahn, Felix, 331.
 Dandolo, Andrea, 334.
 Daru, P. A. N. B., Count, 334.
 das Chagas, C. J. Rodrigues, 336.
 Dauvers, F. C., 336.
 Davey, Rich., 339.
 de Beauchamp, A., 335.
 de Beaufort, M., 330.
 de Canale, Martin, 334.
 de Champigny, Comte Franz, 330.
 de Haulleville, Alphonse, 355.
 de Herrera, Anton, 337.
 de la Concepcion, Juan, 339.
 de las Casas, Bartolomé, 337.
 de Lanessan, J. M. A. de, 325, 342, 344.
 de la Pezuela, J., 339.
 de la Sagra, Ramon, 339.
 Demersay, L. A., 339.
 Dennys, N. B., 351.
 d'Orsey, A. J. D., 336.
 de Oviedo y Banos, J., 339.
 de Oviedo y Valdes, G. F., 337.

ralta, M. M., 339.

nteül, 335.

ramps, L., 342.

smondi, J. C. L. (Simonde),
, 332.

lis, A., 337.

lla, 335.

equerville, A. H. C. C., Comte

.

loa, J. J. and Anton, 337.

llehardouin, Geoffroy, 332.

Bernal, 337.

smola, Gen. A. P., 329.

, Albert V., 345.

erweg, G. G. H., 328.

, Sir C. W., 345.

rus Siculus, 328.

rsius Halicarnassus, 328.

nguez, 338.

las, Wm., 346.

, J. A., 346.

sen, J. G., 329.

is, F., 344.

is, J. P. J., 340.

is, M., 325.

ker, Max, 326.

am, S. A., 353.

nt, P. S., 343.

am, Lord, 347.

y, V., 330, 331.

ertre, Père, 343.

R. C., 352.

E

ng, C. D., 346.

, C. H., 350.

rds, Bryan, 343, 350.

on, H. E., 345.

orn, J. G., 334.

E. J., 355.

W., 344.

nstone, Sir M., 352.

ani-Giudici, Paolo, 333.

, W. H., 329.

C. W., 350.

emelin, A. O., 343.

F

Fahie, A. M., 338.

Faure, A., 344.

Favenc, E., 348.

Felkin, R. W. and Wilson, C. T., 349.

Fenton, J., 348.

Ferrando, Fr. J., 339.

Ferris, Benj., 353.

Filippi, Giov., 333.

Finlay, Geo., 331.

Firmani, A. C. T(i), 330.

Fischer, C. A., 337.

Fisher, G. P., 346.

Fiske, John, 338, 341, 346.

Flathe, H. T., 341.

Flemyng, M., 351.

Fonseca, Fr. J., 339.

Forbonnais, F. V. D., 342.

Foreman, John, 340.

Formaleoni, V., 329.

Förster, B., 353.

Forster, W. E., 345.

Foster, Wm., 351.

Fowler, F., 348.

Franklin, Benj., 346.

Franzius, G., 353.

Frazer, R. W., 352.

Freeman, E. A., 329, 334.

Fröhlich, J. von Gott, 328.

Froissart, J., 331.

Froude, J. A., 336, 345, 350.

Fuchs, S. J., 345.

G

Gaffarel, Paul, 342, 343.

Galibert, Léon, 334.

Gallenga, A., 339.

Gayarré, C., 342.

Geffcken, H., 325.

Geijer, E. J., 353.

Gelpi y Ferro, 339.

Gens, Eug., 340.

Geslin, J., 340.

Gibbon, Edward, 331.

von Giesebrecht, W., 334.

- Gillard, G. J., 351.
 Gillii, Abbé F. S., 337.
 Girault, A., 325.
 Gisborne, W., 348.
 Gleig, G. R., 352.
 Gordon-Cummings, E., 349.
 Gottschick, A. F., 329.
 Gough, Sir C. and Innes A. D., 352.
 Graevius, J. G., 329, 330.
 Grandi, T., 354.
 Granovius, J., 329.
 Grant, Charles (Viscount de Vaux), 343, 351.
 Grant, R., 352.
 Grashuis, G. J., 341.
 Green, J. R., 344.
 Greswell, W. H. P., 345.
 Grey, Lord, 345.
 Griffin, Sir L. H., 352.
 Grote, Geo., 328.
 Grotius, Hugo, 340.
 Guérin, Léon, 341.
 Guicciardini, Francesco, 331.
 Guillemard, F. H. H., 348.
 Guizot-De Witt, 341.
 Gürich, G., 353.
- H
- Hackluyt, Rich., 345.
 Hager, C., 353.
 Halgan, 330.
 Hallam, Henry, 331, 344.
 Hamel, Ernest, 341.
 Hancock, A. N., 338.
 Handelmann, Heinrich, 336, 339.
 Harris, John, 345.
 HARRISSE, H., 338.
 Hatton, F., 351.
 de Haulleville, Alphonse, 354.
 Haurigot, G., 344.
 ten Have, J. J., 340.
 Haxthausen, A. F. L. M. von, 353.
 Hazlitt, W. C., 334.
 Hearn, L., 344.
 Heaton, J. H., 348.
 Heeren, A. H. L., 326, 327, 334.
- Hegewisch, D. H., 329.
 Helps, Sir Arthur, 338.
 Hennepin, le Père Louis, 342.
 Hennings, A., 353.
 Heredia, J. F., 339.
 Hermann, E., 354.
 Herodotus, 328.
 de Herrera, Anton, 337.
 Hertslet, Sir E., 334, 349.
 Hertzberg, Gustav F., 328.
 Herzog, Ernest, 330.
 Heyd, W., 332.
 Heyne, C. G., 327.
 Hickson, S. J., 341.
 Hildreth, R., 346.
 Hill, Robt. T., 339.
 Hodder, E., 348.
 Hodgkin, Dr. Thos., 331.
 Hogendorp, Dirck van, 340.
 Holm, Adolph, 328, 329.
 Hommel, Fritz, 326.
 Hopf, Karl, 331.
 Howitt, Wm., 325.
 Hübbe-Schleiden, Wm., 353.
 Hugo, G. W., 337.
 Huilliard-Broholles, J. L. A., 331.
 Hüllman, L. D., 329.
 von Humboldt, Alex., 337, 339.
 Hume, David, 344.
 Hume, Martin A. S., 337.
 Hunt, W., 331.
 Hunter, Capt. F. M., 351.
 Hunter, Sir W. W., 352.
 Hurlburt, J. B., 345.
 Hutchinson, F., 348.
 Hutton, W. H., 257.
- I
- Ilbert, Sir C. P., 352.
 Ingham, E. G., 349.
 Ingulphus, Abbott of Croyland, 331.
 Innes, A. D., 352.
 Innes, McL., 352.
 Institut Colonial International, 325.
 Ireland, Alleyne, 334.
 Irving, Washington, 338.

J

Jacob, Gertrude, 238.
 Jenks, Edward, 348.
 Jobson, R., 349.
 Johnston, Sir H. H., 334, 349.
 Joubleau, F., 342.
 Joyner, Mrs. A. B., 351.
 Jung, K. E., 353.
 Jusserand, J. J., 332.

K

Kalm, Pieter, 346.
 Kappler, A., 341.
 Kassai, P., 355.
 Kattenkamp, Franz, 334.
 Kaye, Sir J. W., 352.
 Keltie, J. S., 349.
 Kershaw, Mark, 345.
 Kingsford, W., 347.
 Kingsley, M., 349.
 von Koschitzky, H., 353.
 Krausse, Alexius, 354.
 Kugler, Bernhard, 332.
 Kunstmann, Fr., 336.

L

Labat, J. B., 343.
 Laftau, J. F., 336.
 Lamb, Mrs. M. J., 347.
 Lampros, S. P., 329.
 Lancelott, F., 348.
 Lanessan, J. M. A. de, 325, 342, 344.
 Lang, R. H., 351.
 Lansdell, H., 354.
 de las Casas, Bartolomé, 337.
 Lavissee et Rambaud, 335.
 Le Chartier, H., 344.
 Leclercq, J., 341.
 Leers, Arnold, 343.
 Lefroy, Sir J. H., 347, 351.
 Lemke, F. W., 337.
 Lenormant, Fr., 329.
 Lenthéric, Chas., 329.
 Leo, Heinrich, 331.
 Leroy, L., 344.

Leroy-Beaulieu, Paul, 335.
 Letourneau, Ch., 326.
 Levi, Léon, 345.
 Lewis, Sir G. C., 325.
 Lindsay, W. S., 345.
 Livy, 330.
 Llorente, 339.
 Lobero, A., 333.
 Lodge, H. C., 347.
 Löher, Fr. von, 351, 353.
 Löhnis, H., 335.
 Long, E., 351.
 Lopez, Vicente, F., 338.
 Lopes de Lima, J. J., 336.
 Low, Hugh, 238.
 Lozano, P., 339.
 Lucas, C. P., 345.
 Lueder, 341.
 Lugard, Capt. F. D., 349.
 Lyall, Sir A. C., 352.
 Lyall, R., 354.

M

Macaulay, Lord T. B., 344, 350, 352.
 Macdonald, Geo., 349.
 Machiavelli, Niccolo, 333.
 Mackinnon, David, 350.
 MacLean, John, 347.
 MacPherson, David, 352.
 Madvig, J. N., 330.
 Maffei, G. P., 336.
 Mahaffy, J. P., 328.
 Major, Rich. H., 335.
 Malcolm, Sir John, 352.
 Malleson, G. B., 343.
 Malouet, V. P., 342.
 Marin, C. A., 334.
 Markham, C. R., 339.
 Marquardt, Joachim, 330.
 Marsden, W., 341.
 Marshall, John, 347.
 Martens et Cussy, 335.
 Martin, A., 347.
 Martin, H., 341.
 Martin, R. M., 345, 346.

Martineau, Harriet, 344.
 Martins, J. P. O., 335.
 Martyr, Petrus, 337.
 Maspero, G., 327.
 Masson, P., 343.
 May, Sir T. E., 344.
 McCarthy, Justin, 344.
 McCullagh, W. T., 328, 340.
 McCulloch, J. R., 326.
 McCrady, E., 347.
 McDermot, P., 349.
 McMullen, John, 347.
 McMurdo, Ed., 335.
 Mead, Henry, 352.
 van Meeteren, Westeroffen, 341.
 Meltzer, Otto, 327.
 Mendo-Trigozo, Sebastião Francisco de, 336.
 Mentzel, O. F., 340.
 Merivale, H., 325.
 Meyer, Eduard, 326.
 Michaud, J. F., 332.
 Middendorf, E. W., 339.
 Mill, Jas., 352.
 Mill, J. Stuart, 325.
 Mills, A., 346.
 Milman, Dr. H. H., 333.
 Milner, Sir A., 350.
 Mispoulet, J. B., 330.
 Mitteis, Ludwig, 331.
 Mockler-Ferryman, A. F., 349.
 Mommsen, Th., 330.
 Money, J. W. B., 341.
 Monteroy, Vidal Joseph, 340.
 Montiero, R., 336.
 Moore, John Bassett, 335.
 Morell, J. R., 343.
 Morellet, Abbé A., 343.
 Morris, Chas., 347.
 Moses, Bernard, 338.
 Motley, J. L., 340.
 Mounier, M., 344.
 Movers, F. K., 327.
 Munday, Capt. Rodney, 236.
 Munro, J. E. C., 347.
 Muratori, L. A., 331.

N

Nani, Battista, 334.
 Napp, R., 338.
 Navarette, 337.
 Neill, E. D., 347.
 Nicetas, A. C., 334.
 Nicol, Jas., 353.
 Niebuhr, B. G., 326, 330.
 Noël, Octave, 326.
 Norman, C. B., 342, 344.
 Norman, H., 355.

O

Ogilvy, J., 348, 351.
 O'Hara, 348.
 Oliver, S. P., 344.
 Orme, Robt., 352.
 D'Orsey, A. J. D., 336.
 Otte, E. C., 353.
 de Oviedo y Banos, J., 339.
 de Oviedo y Valdes, G. F., 337.

P

Pagnini, Della Ventura, G. F., 3.
 Palgrave, W. G., 341.
 Parkin, G. R., 347.
 Parkman, Francis, 342.
 Pauliat, L., 342, 343.
 Pausanias, 328.
 Pavy, A., 344.
 Payne, E. J., 335.
 Peitschmann, Rich., 327.
 Penfield, F. C., 349.
 de Peralta, M. M., 339.
 Percival, Geo., 331.
 Pereira, R. S., 339.
 Person, Émile, 331.
 Peruzzi, S. L., 333.
 Petrie, W. M. F., 327.
 de la Pezuela, J., 339.
 Pfefferkorn, 329.
 Pfothenauer, J., 338.
 Phillip, Arthur, 348.
 Pigafetta, Ant., 335.
 Pigeonneau, H., 342.

Pilling, W., 338.
 Pinheiro, Chagas M., 336.
 Pliny (Major), 330.
 Pöhlmann, Louis, 333.
 Polo, Marco, 334.
 Polybius, 328.
 Popowski, Josef, 355.
 Potthast, Aug., 331.
 Preller, Ludwig, 329.
 Prescott and Robertson, 331.
 Prescott, W. H., 331, 337.
 Prowse, D. W., 347.
 Prutz, Hans, 332.
 Purchas, Samuel, 345.

R

Raffles, Sir T. S., 341.
 Raffles, Sophia, 341.
 Ragozin, Z. A., 327.
 Rainsford, M., 343.
 Raleigh, Walter, 345.
 Rambach, F. E., 329.
 Rambaud, A., 342, 354.
 Ramsey, David, 347.
 Ramsey, Jas., 350.
 Ramsey, M. M., 339.
 von Ranke, Leopold, 326, 333.
 Raoul-Rochette, D., 329.
 Rath, H. L., 351.
 von Raumer, Fr., 354.
 Rawlinson, Geo., 327.
 Raynal, Guillaume T. F., 335.
 Réclus, O., 342.
 von Reumont, Alfred, 333.
 Reynier, L., 327.
 Ricardo, David, 325.
 Ricaud, J. A., 342.
 Richter, Wilhelm, 353.
 Riestap, J. B., 340.
 Robertson, 331.
 Robida, A., 333.
 Robinson, H. J., 346.
 Rodway, J., 350.
 Roepell, R., 354.
 Rogers, J. E. T., 325.
 Romanin, S., 334.

Root, J. W., 338.
 Roscoe, Wm., 333.
 Ross of Bladensburg, 68.
 Rosscher, W., 326, 329.
 Rosscher and Jannasch, 325.
 Roux de Rochelle, 334.
 Rowan, A. S., and Ramsey, M. M., 339.
 Roy, J. J. E., 343.
 Ruge, S., 335.
 Ruperti, Geo. A., 331.
 Rusden, G. W., 348.
 Russell, Fr., 352.
 Russell, R., 182.

S

von Saalfeld, F., 336, 341.
 de la Sagra, Ramon, 339.
 Sainsbury, W. N., 346.
 Saint-Didier (Sr. de), 334.
 Sainte-Croix, Baron de, 327.
 Saint-Martin, Vivien de, 327.
 Saint Simon, le Duc de, 342.
 de Santeuil, 335.
 Sargent, A. J., 342.
 Sartorius von Walthershausen, G. F. C., Baron, 334.
 Say, J. B., 326.
 Schäfer, H., 335.
 Schanz, Georg., 332.
 Scheidnagel, 340.
 Scherer, H., 326.
 von Schlegel, Friedr., 326.
 Schlözer, A. L., 354.
 Schmidt, E., 351.
 Schmidt, Rochus, 354.
 Schmidt, Wm. A., 331.
 Schomburgk, Sir R. H., 350.
 Seidmore, Eliza R., 341.
 Seddall, H., 351.
 Seeley, J. R., 346.
 Segur, P. de, Count, 354.
 Seignobos, Chas., 335.
 Selden, J., 345.
 Serradifalco, Duc de, 329.
 Seton-Karr, 68.

Sheppard, F. G., 332.
 Sheridan, R. B., 352.
 Shuckburgh, E. S., 330.
 Sieveking, Carl, 333.
 Simmonds, P. L., 335.
 de Sismondi, J. C. L. (Simonde),
 326, 332.
 Smith, Adam, 326.
 Smith, Goldwin, 344, 347.
 Smith, John, 347.
 Smith, R. Bosworth, 327.
 de Solis, A., 337.
 Southey, R., 336.
 Southey, Thos., 350.
 Spence, W., 350.
 Stanford, Edward, 335.
 Stanley, H. E. J., 335.
 Stanley, H. M., 355.
 Stegemann, R., 354.
 de Stella and de Santetil, 335.
 Stevens, G. W., 350.
 Stevens, J. E., 340.
 Stevenson, R. L., 354.
 St. John, Sir S., 351.
 Stoecklin, Jules, 354.
 Strabo, 330.
 Strachey, Sir J., 352.
 Strahl, P. und Hermann, E., 354.
 Stratham, F. R., 182.
 Stubbs, Bp. Wm., 332, 344.
 Sword, W. D., 349.
 Symonds, John Addington, 332.

T

Tacitus, 330.
 Talleyrand, de Périgord, C. M.,
 325.
 Tarring, Chas. J., 346.
 Taylor, Geo. B., 354.
 ten Have, J. J., 340.
 Tennent, Sir J. E., 351.
 Thatcher, 295.
 Theal, G. McC., 349.
 Thirlwall, Bp. Connop, 328.
 Thomson, A. S., 349.
 Thomson, M. A., 345.

Thornton, E., 353.
 Thucydides, 328.
 Thwaites, R. G. (editor), 343.
 de Tocqueville, A. H. C. C., Comte,
 346.
 Todd, A., 346.
 Torrens, R., 348.
 Torrente, M., 338.
 Tourmagne, A., 343.
 Townsend, J. P., 348.
 Trollope, Anthony, 348.
 Trollope, T. A., 333.
 Troya, Carlo, 332.
 Tucker, Geo., 353.
 Tupper, Chas. L., 353.

U

Ukart, F. A., and von Giesebrecht,
 W., 334.
 Ulloa, J. J. and Anton de, 337.

V

Valdes, 338.
 Van den Bogaerde de ter-Brugge,
 A. J. L., Baron, 340.
 Van Meeteren, Westeroijen, 341.
 Varro, 330.
 Veth, Prof. P. J., 341.
 Vignon, L., 342.
 Villain, G., 355.
 Villani, Filippo, 332.
 Villani, Giovanni, 332.
 Villani, Matteo, 332.
 Villari, Pasquale, 333.
 de Villehardouin, Geoffroy, 332.
 Vincens, Émile, 333.
 Vinson, J., 344.
 Vogel, M., 346.
 Voigt, J., 354.
 Volz, B., 354.
 von Giesebrecht, W., 334.
 von Humboldt, Alex., 337, 339.
 von Koschitzky, H., 353.
 von Ranke, Leopold, 326, 333.
 von Raumer, Fr., 354.
 von Reumont, Alfred, 333.

- von Walthershausen, G. F. C., Baron
Sartorius, 334.
- W**
- Wachsmuth, Wm., 329.
Wakefield, Edward Gibbon, 348.
Walker, H. de R., 348.
Wallace, Alfred R., 341.
Wallace, Sir D. M., 354.
Walpole, Spencer, 344.
von Walthershausen, G. F. C., Baron
Sartorius, 334.
Wappäus, J. C., 335, 354.
Watson, R. G., 338.
Weber, Geo., 326.
Weeden, Wm. B., 347.
Wentworth, Wm. C., 348.
Wenzelburger, K. T., 340.
Westgarth, W., 348.
Wharton, Francis, 335.
Wheeler, J. Talboy, 61.
White, A. S., 349.
Widdicombe, J., 349.
Wilcocke, S. H., 338.
Wilken, Friedrich, 332.
- Wilkinson, Sir J. G., 327.
Williams, S. W., 355.
Williams, Thos., and Calvert, James,
349.
Wilmot, A., 349.
Wilson, A. J., 335.
Wilson, C. T., 349.
Wingate, St. Col., 350.
Winsor, Justin, 335, 338, 343, 347.
Woltmann, K. L., 340.
Worcester, Dean C., 340.
Worsfold, W. B., 341, 349.
Wynne, J. H., 347.
- X**
- Xenophon, 328.
- Y**
- Yeats, C., 326.
Young, F., 325.
- Z**
- Zimmermann, Alfred, 335, 353.
Zimmern, Helen, 334.
Zona, T., 354.



INDEX

A

- Abyssinia, affairs with Italy, ii. 307-309.
- Adelaide (Australia), founded, ii. 132; population, ii. 154.
- Aden, British colony, ii. 233.
- Æolians, union with Ionians, i. 97.
- Æolic Movement, i. 91.
- Africa, knowledge of, in Middle Ages, i. 203; French possessions, i. 438, 439.
- Africa, South, discovery of diamonds, ii. 176; federation of English colonies, ii. 190-191; gold output, ii. 190; *see also* Cape Colony.
- Africa, West, international division of, ii. 245.
- African Conference, *see* Berlin African Conference.
- Agathocles, Greek general, his invasion of Carthage, i. 76; rule of, i. 112.
- Alaska, annexation by Russia, ii. 290; purchase by United States, ii. 291.
- Albuquerque, Alfonso de, Portuguese governor in India, i. 210; death of, i. 211.
- Alexius, emperor of the Orient, seeks aid of Venetians, i. 173; assassination of, i. 174.
- Algeria, subdued by France, i. 446; statistics, i. 446; French policy in, i. 448; land question, i. 449; statistics, i. 449, 450; *see* Algiers.
- Algiers, pirates of, i. 444; blockaded by French fleet, i. 445; commercial treaty with France, i. 445; *see* Algeria.
- Almeida, Dom Francisco, first Portuguese viceroy of the Indies, i. 210.
- Amalfi, i. 144; population of, A.D. 1100, i. 144; capitulation of, i. 145; invested by Pisans, i. 145; ruin of, i. 145.
- Amathus, city, founded, i. 52.
- America, discovery of, effect on Mediterranean trade, i. 200; character of first English immigrants, ii. 14.
- America, North, beginnings of English colonization, ii. 17 *et seq.*; *see* names of various localities in North, Central, and South America.
- Amsterdam, i. 302.
- Ancient empires, relations among, i. 48.
- Ancient monarchies, *see* Ancient Empires.
- Andros, plundered by Venetians, i. 171.
- Angra Pequena (Africa), German protectorate, ii. 301; statistics, ii. 302.
- Antilles, French, i. 389, 391; religious toleration in, i. 394; sugar-cane introduced, i. 394; slavery in, i. 396; sugar trade, i. 397; saved by John Law, i. 399; government of, i. 400-401; taken by England, i. 402.
- Antwerp, commercial and industrial centre, i. 302, 303; pillaged by Spaniards, i. 303; loss of commercial prestige, i. 304.
- 'Αποκρία, definition, i. 126.
- Apries, repulsed by Cyrene, Greek colony, i. 38.
- Armada, effect of its loss on the Dutch, i. 307; on the English, ii. 8, 14.
- Ascension (island), British colony, ii. 232.
- Asia Minor, settled by Greeks, i. 91; Grecianized, i. 96, 98.
- Assiento, i. 266 n., 396 n.; part of France in, i. 412; part of Eng in, ii. 43 n., 57; *see also* *Assur-nazir-pal*, founded.
- Assyria, period of fall of, i. 42; tion, i. 43-44; porary empir
- Athens, defeat

- Athens, *continued*:—
 government of her colonies, i. 119;
 methods of colonization of, i. 119.
 Auckland, founded, ii. 136; population
 of, ii. 154.
 Audiencias, i. 254.
 Australasia, English, statistics, ii. 152-
 153.
 Australia, early history, ii. 116; con-
 victs first sent to, ii. 117; *Bounty*
 mutiny, ii. 120; sheep-breeding be-
 gun, ii. 121; growth of wool indus-
 try, ii. 121; gradual development of,
 ii. 122; government instituted, ii.
 123; condition of deported convicts
 in, ii. 125-127; Wakefield's theory of
 "systematic colonization," ii. 130;
 sale of lands, ii. 130-131; gold found,
 ii. 141; panic following discovery of
 gold, ii. 142; present-day condi-
 tions, ii. 147-149; measures of self-
 defence in, ii. 148; friction with
 England, ii. 149; financial crisis
 of 1891-1892, ii. 150; movement for
 federation of colonies, ii. 155 *et*
seq.; federal councils and conven-
 tions, ii. 158 *et seq.*; Australian Fed-
 eration League formed, ii. 159; feder-
 ation achieved, ii. 161; present-day
 form of government, ii. 162-163.
 Australia, South, proclaimed British,
 ii. 128; collapse of, ii. 132-133; re-
 vival of, ii. 133.
 Australia, Western, organization of, ii.
 128; demand for convicts by, ii. 140.
 Austria-Hungary, possessions of, ii. 316.
 Austrian Netherlands East India Com-
 pany, ii. 287-288.
 Azores, discovery of, i. 206.
- B
- Babylon, during first Chaldean em-
 pire, i. 41; invasion of Phœnicia
 by, i. 65.
 Bacon, Francis, quoted, ii. 13.
 Baldwin of Flanders, becomes emperor
 of the Orient, i. 174.
 Balearic Isles, occupied by Cartha-
 ginians, i. 75.
 Baltimore, Lord, his charter of Mary-
 land, ii. 30.
- Barbados, abandoned to English, i.
 390; English settlements in, ii. 53,
 54; products of, ii. 55; sugar indus-
 try, ii. 55; conditions under Crom-
 well, ii. 56; decline of, ii. 58.
 Basutoland, England's difficulties in,
 ii. 177-178.
 Batavia, building of, i. 319; descrip-
 tion of, i. 319; rapid development
 of, i. 319.
 Battel, Andrew, English explorer, ii. 7.
 Bechuanaland, England's annexation
 of, ii. 178.
 Belgium, relations of, with Congo Free
 State, ii. 312-314.
 Berlin African Conference, work of,
 ii. 245; decision of, as to Congo Free
 State, ii. 311.
 Bermuda Islands, British settlement
 of, ii. 222; statistics, ii. 223.
 Besner, Baron de, his scheme for col-
 onizing French Guiana, i. 388.
 Bismarck Archipelago, Germany's an-
 nexation of, ii. 298.
 Bismarck, Prince, his theory of col-
 onization, ii. 300.
 Black Sea, exploration of, by Greeks,
 i. 97.
 Boers, rebellion of, in Cape Colony, ii.
 172; treatment of Kaffirs, ii. 172-
 173; effect of abolition of slavery
 on, ii. 173; *see also* Transvaal.
 Bojador, Cape, doubled by Gillianes,
 i. 205.
 Bolivar, victory of, i. 271.
 Bolivia, independence gained, i. 271.
 Borneo, British colony, ii. 236; statis-
 tics, ii. 237.
 Boston, foundation of, ii. 23.
 Botany Bay, discovery of, ii. 117; made
 a penal colony, ii. 117.
 Bourbon, Isle of, settled by French, i.
 410; development of, i. 433-434.
 Brazil, discovery of, i. 209; first colo-
 nists of, i. 214; treatment of natives
 by Portuguese, i. 224 *n.*; spread of
 the slave trade in, i. 224; diamond
 trade of, i. 225; mines opened, i.
 225; becomes an empire, i. 226;
 area of, i. 227; "interior coloniza-
 tion," i. 227 *n.*; population of, i. 227;
 revolution of, 1889, i. 227.

- Brisbane (Australia), settlement of, ii. 127; population of, ii. 154.
 Bristol, importance of, ii. 3; fears of, after the American Revolution, ii. 49 n.
 Britain, *see* England.
 British East Africa Company, organization of, ii. 248-249; dissolution of, ii. 250.
 British Royal Niger Company, organization of, ii. 244; methods of trade of, ii. 247; dissolution of, ii. 248.
 Brooke, Sir James, Rajah of Sarawak, ii. 237.
 Bruges, city, mentioned, i. 301.
 Buenos Ayres, prominence of, i. 267.

C

- Cabots, voyages of, ii. 3.
 Cadiz, founded by Phoenicians, i. 57; made port of embarkation for all Spain, i. 261.
 Caffa (Gazaria), founded by Genoese, i. 161.
 Cagliari (Sardinia) settled by Tyrians, i. 56.
 California, expulsion of Spaniards from, i. 272.
 Calvert, Cecil, *see* Lord Baltimore.
 Cambodia, seized by France, i. 417.
 Cameroons, German protectorate over, ii. 302.
 Canada, beginning of French rule in, i. 362; French feudalism in, i. 369-370; French administration of, i. 374, 376; slow growth in population, i. 377-378; passes into British hands, i. 382; early English government of, ii. 51; taken by English, ii. 51; local self-government, ii. 95-96; Constitution Act, ii. 98; incipient rebellion, ii. 100; attitude toward United States in 1812, ii. 101; "Ninety-two Resolutions" framed, ii. 102; Quebec Act, ii. 51, 96; rebellion of 1837, ii. 102-103; Union Act passed for, ii. 103-104; Dominion of Canada formed, ii. 106; present-day government, ii. 106; prosperity in nineteenth century, ii. 108 *et seq.*; chief industries, ii. 109; commercial independence granted, ii. 111; recent economic development, ii. 112 and n.; Hudson's Bay Company's lands, purchase of, ii. 113; financial statistics, ii. 113.
 Canada and Acadia, Company of, chartered, i. 366.
 Canary Islands, visited by Genoese, i. 203; discovered by Portuguese, i. 204.
 Cape Breton Island, taken by England, ii. 107.
 Cape Colony, taken by England, ii. 165; method of colonizing, ii. 167, 170; Boers in, ii. 167-169; slavery in, ii. 168; difficulty of governing, ii. 169; Boers and England in, ii. 172; abolition of slavery in, ii. 173; rejection of English convicts, ii. 175; constitution granted, ii. 175; statistics, ii. 178-179; products, ii. 179; present government, ii. 180.
 Cape Non, *see* Non, Cape.
 Cape of Good Hope, *see* Good Hope, Cape of.
 Cape Verde Islands first visited, i. 206.
 Caralis, *see* Cagliari.
 Carolinas, French establishment in, i. 364; settlement of, ii. 33-34.
 Carthage, foundation of, i. 56; obscure origin of, i. 69; natural advantages, i. 71; growth of, i. 72; colonial expansion of, i. 73; colonial policy, i. 74; preference for insular acquisitions, i. 75; occupation of Sardinia, Balearic Isles, and Malta, i. 75; struggle for Sicily, i. 75; invaded by Agathocles, i. 76; colonies founded by Hanno, i. 78; epoch of glory, i. 78; Himilco's northerly voyage, i. 78; Spanish possessions of, i. 78; territorial grandeur of, i. 78; commercial greatness, i. 79; allegiance of colonies, i. 81; character of colonists, i. 81; prestige gained through colonies, i. 81; colonies classified, i. 82; government of, i. 82; military and naval system, i. 83; decline and fall of, i. 83-84.
 Carthage, building of, by Hamilcar, i. 79.
 Carthaginians, *see* Carthage.
 Cartier, Jacques, explorations of, 363.

- Casa de Contratacion, i. 242.
 Cayenne (island), settled by French, i. 387.
 Ceylon, discovery of, i. 211; occupied by Dutch, i. 319; captured by England, ii. 226; sugar industry in, ii. 227; coffee industry in, ii. 227; statistics, ii. 228; tea industry, ii. 228-229.
 Chalcidians, migration of, i. 102.
 Chaldea, early trade, i. 40-41; commercial activity, i. 46; civilizing influence, i. 47; government, i. 47; relation to contemporary empires, i. 48.
 Champlain, Samuel, voyage of, i. 369.
 Chancellor, Richard, voyage of, ii. 5.
 Charles V (of Spain), "New Laws" of, i. 245.
 Charlestown (Mass.) founded, ii. 23.
 China, Portuguese trade with, i. 211, 212; Dutch trade with, i. 317, 318; concession to France, i. 459 n.; to England, ii. 238; Danish trade with, ii. 284; Swedish trade with, ii. 288; concession to Russia, ii. 300; possessions of, ii. 317; Europeans in, ii. 317.
 Chios, city, importance of, i. 93; captured by Venetians, i. 171.
 Choiseul, Duke de, induces emigration to Guiana, i. 387.
 Citium, city, founded, i. 52.
 Civilization, Roman and Greek, compared, i. 126.
 Cleruchies, the Greek, i. 119.
 Clive, Lord, i. 409; ii. 68.
 Cnidus, settled by Dorians, i. 94.
 Cochín-China, seized by France, i. 417.
 "Code Noir," i. 397.
 Coffee, in Cuba, i. 280; in Java, i. 324-325, 344, 347; in Ceylon, ii. 227.
 Colbert, prime minister of France, colonizing enterprise of, i. 380; errors of, i. 395-396; pushes colonization in the East, i. 404.
 Coligny, Admiral, his efforts at colonization, i. 364.
 Colombia, rebellion of, i. 271.
 Colonia, definition of, i. 6, 126.
 "Colonial compact," evolution of, ii. 45.
 Colonies classified, i. 8-11; conditions requisite for success, i. 20-23; problems in government, i. 25-27; penal, advantages and disadvantages, ii. 124; comparative statistics, ii. 318-319.
 Colonization, general principles of, i. 1-27; successful nations in, i. 3; difficulties in study of, i. 4; questions which arise, i. 4; influence of navigation on, i. 5; object of, i. 12; qualifications of nations for, i. 15-20; wealth necessary for, i. 17; by deportation of subject races, i. 43-44; how affected by Hebrew exodus, i. 55; as illustrated by the Dutch, i. 349; as practised by the French, i. 414; systematic, ii. 129-134.
 Colony, definition and derivation of word, i. 6-8, 126; *see also* Colonies.
 Columbus, i. 232 *et seq.*; presents petition to King John II, i. 233; reverses met with in Portugal, i. 233; quits Portugal, i. 234; difficulties in Spain, i. 234.
 Comoro Islands, statistics, i. 435.
 Companies, trading, *see* respective names and localities.
 Company of Canada and Acadia, *see* Canada and Acadia, Company of.
 Congo Free State, origin of, ii. 310-311; international agreement regarding, ii. 311; relations with Belgium, ii. 312-314; statistics, ii. 314-315.
 Connecticut, settlement and constitution of, ii. 28.
 Constantinople, taken by Venetians from usurper, i. 173; fall of, i. 184.
 Convicts, *see* Deportation.
 Cook, Captain, voyage to Australia, ii. 117.
 Corcyra, founded, i. 114; fall of, i. 115.
 Corfu, colonized by Venetians, i. 176; repurchased by Venetians, i. 183.
 Cornwallis, Lord, administration of, in India, ii. 256.
 Coromandel, shores occupied by Dutch, i. 319.
 Cortez takes Mexico, i. 236.
 Cos (island), occupied by Dorians, i. 94.
 Craig, Sir James, administration in Canada, ii. 100.
 Crete, colonized by Sidonians, i. 52, 54; settled by Greeks, i. 90; settled by

- Dorians, i. 94; under early Greeks, i. 100; bought by Venetians, i. 175.
- Croton, founded, i. 105.
- Cuba, early in nineteenth century, i. 278; advantageous location of, i. 279; liberty of commercial intercourse granted, i. 279; coffee industry, i. 280; sugar industry, i. 280, 283; slave trade, i. 281-282; abolition of slavery, i. 282; effect of slavery on commerce, i. 282; coolie trade, i. 283; schemes of taxation in, i. 284; official corruption, i. 286; discontent in, i. 286; revolution of 1868, i. 287; uprisings, i. 287; rate of taxation per capita, i. 288; shut out from American markets, i. 288; revolution of 1895, i. 289; American aid in 1898, i. 289-290; statistics for 1896-1900, i. 290.
- Curaçao, and lesser isles, i. 352-353; statistics, i. 353.
- Cyme, Æolian political centre, i. 96.
- Cyprus, overrun by the Ptolemies, i. 38; an Assyrian dependency, i. 42; colonized by Sidonians, i. 52; settled by Greeks, i. 90, 99, 100; given to Venetians, i. 185; British colony, ii. 254; statistics, ii. 254.
- Cyrenaica, taken by Carthaginians, i. 78.
- Cyrene, Greek colony, repulses Apries, i. 38.
- Cythera, colonized by Phœnicians, i. 54.
- D
- Daendels, governor-general of Dutch East Indies, i. 341.
- Dandolo, Andrea, commits suicide, i. 180.
- Dandolo, Henry, Doge of Venice, death of, i. 175.
- Danish East India Company, formation of, ii. 283-284.
- Delaware, Lord, his arrival in Virginia, ii. 18.
- Delaware, annexed to Pennsylvania by Penn., ii. 31; establishment of separate government in, ii. 31.
- Delos, settled by Greeks, i. 90; inauguration of shrine, i. 92.
- Denmark, relations of Iceland to, ii. 280; colonization of Greenland, ii. 282; attempts at East India colonization, ii. 283; West India colonization, ii. 284-286.
- Dependencies, *see* Colonies.
- Deportation of convicts, to Guiana, i. 432; to New Caledonia, i. 456; to Virginia, ii. 18; to Barbados, ii. 56; to Sierra Leone, ii. 83; to Australia, ii. 83, 117, 125-127; to Cape Colony, ii. 175.
- Dewey, Admiral, takes Philippines, i. 298.
- Dido, flight of to Carthage, i. 70.
- Dionysius, his rise, i. 110.
- Dionysius II, reign of, i. 111.
- Dominion of Canada, *see* Canada.
- Doria, Andrea, re-establishes Genoese republic, i. 164.
- Dorians, colonial activity of, i. 94.
- Drake, Sir Francis, circumnavigates globe, ii. 8.
- Dupleix, made governor-general at Pondicherry, i. 407-408; withdrawn from office, i. 409.
- Dutch, seize mercantile control of Caracas, i. 267; navy of, i. 302; long wars of, i. 303; union of Seven United Provinces, i. 305; benefited by Spanish hostility, i. 306; Spanish ports closed to, i. 306; begin development of sea power, i. 307; Houtman gains foothold in East Indies, i. 309; competition with Spanish trade, i. 310; colonies founded by Admiral Waerwijck, i. 316; supplant the Portuguese in East Indies, i. 316; clove and nutmeg cultures in East Indies, i. 317; Chinese and Japanese open doors to commerce of, i. 318; early colonial policy, i. 320-321; decline of commerce in East Indies, i. 331; spice monopoly broken, i. 333; aversion of to actual colonies, i. 336; colonies free of slavery, i. 337; religious toleration in colonies, i. 337; effect of colonial activity on mother country, i. 338; condition country at end of eighteenth century, i. 340; reforms in government, i. 341; statistics

Dutch, continued:—

possessions, i. 356; statistics of Eastern colonies, i. 337; colonial policy reviewed, i. 358.

Dutch East India Company, organization, i. 311; charter granted, i. 313; stock at organization, i. 313; management of, i. 314; commerce, sole object of, i. 315; early property of, i. 317; Australia, Corea, New Zealand, and Van Diemen's Land visited by fleets of, i. 318; commercial policy of, i. 321; treatment of employees, i. 322-323; inducements to emigrants, i. 325; decline sets in, i. 326; evils incurred in spice trade, i. 326, 328; treatment of natives in East Indies, i. 328; employees become corrupt, i. 329; dissolved, i. 334.

Dutch West India Company, organization, i. 349-351; dissolved, i. 352.

E

East, Empire of, *see* Orient, Empire of.

East India Company, *see* English, Dutch, etc.

Egypt, early trade of, i. 32; conquest of Pānit, i. 35; decline of, i. 36; under Assyrian rule, i. 37; captures Phœnician cities, i. 37-38; overruns Cyprus, i. 38; repulsed by Cyrene, i. 38; relation of, to contemporary empires, i. 48; in British hands, ii. 86; England's connection with, ii. 253; statistics, ii. 254.

Elgin, Lord, governor of Canada, ii. 105.

Elisa, *see* Dido.

Emigration, reasons for, i. 13-14, *see* various localities.

Encomiendas, i. 247, 250.

Endicott, John, arrival of, in Salem, ii. 23.

England, colonial policy of, ii. 2-3; early voyages, ii. 4; character of early emigrants, ii. 14; beginnings of American colonization, ii. 17 *et seq.*; early difficulties with New England colonies, ii. 24-25; loss of American colonies, ii. 49; takes Canada from French, ii. 50-51; early settlements in West Indies, ii. 53; division of West Indies, ii. 57; oppres-

sion of India, ii. 70; reorganization of Indian government, ii. 71-72; influence of colonization on, ii. 73-74; influence of colonies on navy, ii. 76-77; colonization in 19th century, ii. 79 *et seq.*; present-day colonial policy, ii. 80 *et seq.* (*see also footnote*, ii. 82); colonies in 1815, ii. 84; extent of empire 1860, ii. 85; 1880, ii. 85; 1890, ii. 86; to-day, ii. 87; colonial statistics tabulated, ii. 88-91; colonies classified, ii. 92; colonial policy in nineteenth century, ii. 95; present-day government in North American colonies, ii. 106; government of Australasian possessions, ii. 138, 139; Fiji Islands annexed, ii. 145; recent progress of colonies, ii. 151 *et seq.*; areas of Australasian colonies, ii. 152; population, ii. 152; finance, ii. 152; trade, ii. 153; communication, ii. 153; struggle with Holland for Cape Colony, ii. 165-166; deportation of criminals to Cape Town, ii. 175; Zulu War of 1878, ii. 176-177; troubles in Basutoland, ii. 177-178; affairs in Transvaal, ii. 185-189; Matabele and Mashona troubles, ii. 192; later West Indian colonies of, ii. 196; annual importation of sugar from West Indies, ii. 210 *et seq.*; statistics of West India, Central and South American possessions, ii. 220 *et seq.*; rule of, in Mauritius, Malta, Bermudas, and Ceylon, ii. 222-229; list of Crown colonies of, ii. 231; rise of naval stations, ii. 238, 239; possessions in Oceanica, ii. 239; connection of, with Egypt, ii. 253; reformation of Indian government, ii. 255-256; gradual amelioration of condition of Indian affairs, ii. 265 *et seq.*; present-day government of India, ii. 268; summary of colonization of, ii. 273-277; concession in China, ii. 238; *see also* various possessions of England.

English and French colonies compared, i. 17.

"English Company," chartered, ii. 66; merged into East India Company, ii. 66.

English East India Company, organization, ii. 61; early difficulties, ii. 62-64; under Cromwell and Charles II, ii. 64; policy of, ii. 67; misrule of, in Hastings' day, ii. 261; stockholders' share in administration of, ii. 263; cessation of, as a commercial organization, ii. 266; final dissolution of, ii. 268.

English East India Companies, two, consolidated, i. 324.

Ephesus, commercial centre, i. 93.

Ethiopia, Italian protectorate over, i. 308.

Eubœa, described, i. 101-102; part of, taken by Turks, i. 185.

F

Falkland Islands, British colony, ii. 232.

Feudalism, rise of, in Spanish America, i. 247; in Canada under the French, i. 369-370.

Fiji Islands, annexed by Great Britain, ii. 145; statistics, ii. 145; government of, ii. 146.

Florence, origin of, i. 149; obtains Pisa, i. 149; guilds in, i. 150; prosperity of, i. 150-151, 153; industry of, i. 151; mercantile greatness, i. 151-152, 153; economic condition, i. 152; system of trade, i. 152; considered banker of Italian states, i. 153-154; founds trading colonies, i. 153; purchases Lucca and Pisa, i. 153; collects revenues for the popes, i. 154; decline of, i. 155.

Florida, purchase of, i. 272; French colony in, i. 364.

Formosa, taken by Dutch East India Company, i. 318.

France, early voyages of, i. 362; early colonization, i. 364; colonization in Richelieu's day, i. 367; methods of colonization, i. 368, 369, 371; expansion of American domain, i. 370; Company of the West chartered, i. 372; part of the Church in colonization of Canada, i. 373, 375; plans for increasing extent of American possessions, i. 379; power in North America broken, i. 382, 383; division of West Indies, i. 398, ii. 57; their government, i. 401; shorn of colonies, i. 402; early voyages in Eastern seas, i. 403; clash with England in the East, i. 409; loss of colonies, i. 411-412; England restores colonies to Louis XVIII, i. 416, 417, 424; reawakening of colonial enterprise, i. 416 *et seq.*; area and population of colonial possessions in 1815, i. 417; 1860, i. 417; 1880, i. 418; 1890, i. 418; 1900, i. 418; tabular view, i. 419; tables in detail, i. 420-421; import trade of principal colonies, tables, i. 422; export trade of principal colonies, i. 423; slavery in colonies, i. 425; effect of abolition of slavery on colonies, i. 426; "Colonial Compact" dissolved, i. 427; effect of beet-sugar industry on colonial prosperity, i. 429; freedom of commerce in colonies declared, i. 429; government of colonies today, i. 430 *et seq.*; present possessions in India, i. 435-436; colonial policy in Africa, i. 437; statistics of African colonies, i. 438, 439; Algiers taken by, i. 445-446; history of possessions in the Orient reviewed, i. 453 *et seq.*; possessions in Oceanica, i. 456; colonial enterprise generally reviewed, i. 457 *et seq.*; concession in China, i. 459 *n.*; *see also* various possessions of France.

France, Isle of, *see* Mauritius.

Franklin, Benjamin, examination before House of Commons, ii. 42 *n.*

French and English colonies compared, i. 17.

French East India Company chartered, i. 403; dissolved, i. 410.

Frobisher, John, voyage of, ii. 5.

G

Gadeira, Gades, *see* Cadiz.

Gama, Vasco da, rounds Cape of Good Hope, i. 208.

Gambia (Africa), British colony, ii. 240.

Gelon, his government of Syracuse, i. 109.

Genoa, harbor of, i. 156; early history, i. 156; pillaged by Saracens,

Genoa, *continued* :—

i. 156-157; joins Pisa in subjugation of Sardinia, i. 157; expedition to Africa against Mohammedans, i. 157; part played in Crusades, i. 157-159; begins war with Pisans, i. 159; concessions for trading colonies in Holy Land, i. 159; takes Almeria and Tortosa (Spain), i. 160; part in contest for Constantinople, i. 161; prosperity of, i. 160; zenith of grandeur, i. 161; various colonies, i. 161-162; destroys Venetian squadron, i. 162; seeks protection of Duke of Milan, i. 163; defeated by Venetians, i. 163-164; benefits conferred on contemporaries, i. 164; decline and fall of, i. 164.

Georgia, settlement of, ii. 34.

Germany, first steps in colonization, ii. 244, ii. 294-295; Samoan troubles, ii. 296-297; possessions in the Pacific, ii. 298-299; Bismarck's theory of colonization, ii. 300; acquisition of Angra Pequena (Africa) protectorate, ii. 301; of other districts in Africa, ii. 302-304; statistics, ii. 304-305.

Gerrha, Chaldean colony, i. 46.

Ghent, city, i. 301.

Gibraltar, British colony, ii. 73, 231.

Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, founds St. John's, ii. 6.

Goa, captured by Albuquerque, i. 210-211.

Gold Coast, British settlement of, ii. 240.

Gonneville, Binot Paulmier de, rounds Cape of Good Hope, i. 403.

Good Hope, Cape of, discovery of, i. 208; settled by Dutch, i. 320; Dutch neglect of colony at, i. 335; under English rule, ii. 165 *et seq.*

Gorée ceded by England to France, i. 412.

Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, his charter of Maine, ii. 26-27.

Government, essentials of colonial, i. 25-27; forms of colonial, in earliest times, i. 45, 47-48; by Phœnicia, i. 65; by Carthage, i. 82; by Greece, i. 96-97; by Athens, i. 119; by Venice, i. 176-177; in Portuguese East Indies,

i. 222; in Spanish possessions, i. 253-255; in Dutch East Indies, i. 314; in Java, i. 346; in the Antilles, i. 400-401; in French colonies, i. 430 *et seq.*; in English North American colonies, ii. 19, 23, 37-38, 38-39, 80 *et seq.*, 82 *n.*, 95; in Canada, ii. 106; in Australia, ii., 162-163; in Cape Colony, ii. 180; in British West Indies, ii. 217, 218-219; in the Crown Colonies, ii. 230; in East India, ii. 264-268; Danish régime in Iceland, ii. 281.

Granada, fall of, i. 238.

Great Britain, *see* England.

Greece, beginnings of, i. 85; territorial grandeur, i. 85; growth of maritime power, i. 87-88; beginning of colonization, i. 88; earliest colonization recorded, i. 89; Ionian migration, i. 90; settling of Melos, Pharos, Lemnos, Delos, Crete, and Cyprus, i. 90; colonization of Asia Minor, i. 91; Ionian emigration, i. 91; Lesbos colonized, i. 91; colonies unite, i. 95; three leagues of colonies, i. 95; colonial government, i. 96-97; Asia Minor Grecianized, i. 96, 98; colonies threatened by Cyrus, i. 97; Harpagus subjugates colonies, i. 98; colonies of first period of migration, i. 100; expulsion of Greeks from the peninsula, i. 101; second period of colonization begins, i. 101; settlement of Italy, i. 103; government of Italian colonies, i. 107; motives for colonization, i. 117; interrelationship of colonies, i. 118; methods of colonization, i. 118; political freedom of cities, i. 122; origin of the leagues, i. 123; commerce a factor in progress of, i. 123-124; dissemination of culture by, i. 125.

Greek and Roman civilization compared, i. 126.

Greeks, *see* Greece.

Greenland, Danish colonization of, ii. 282.

Grote, quoted, i. 120.

Guatemala, independence gained, i. 271.

Guiana, British, ii. 60.

Guiana, Dutch, i. 353; slavery in, i. 354; statistics, i. 356.
 Guiana, French, first settled, i. 385; lost and regained, i. 387, 389; emigrants from Alsace and Lorraine, i. 387; Madame Jahomey's attempt to colonize, i. 431; failure as a colony, i. 431-432; recent statistics, i. 433.
 Guipuzcoan Trading Company, i. 267.

H

Hadrmetum, settled by Tyrians, i. 56.
 Halicarnassus, settled by Dorians, i. 94.
 Hamilcar, builds Carthage (Spain), i. 79.
 Handels Maatschappij, i. 345.
 Hanno, colonies founded by, i. 78.
 Hanseatic League, aid of, to Venice, i. 188; influence of, i. 194-195; height of power, i. 195; origin and organization, i. 195; downfall of, i. 196.
 Harpagus subjugates Greek colonies, i. 98.
 Hastings, Warren, governor of India, ii. 68; maladministration of India, ii. 71; arraignment of, ii. 71.
 Hebrews, effect of their exodus on colonization, i. 55.
 Heeren, quoted, ii. 70.
 Hellenes, myth of their origin, i. 87.
 Henry, *the Navigator*, i. 201; his first exploring expedition, i. 203; death of, i. 206; his influence on Columbus, i. 232.
 Henry VIII, expeditions for discovery equipped by, ii. 3-4.
 Heraclea, occupied by Phœnicians, i. 56.
 Hesperia, *see* Italy.
 Hieron, his government of Syracuse, i. 109.
 Himilco, voyage of, i. 78.
 Hippo, foundation of, i. 56.
 Hispaniola, first Spanish colony in America, i. 240.
 Holland, *see* Dutch.
 Holm, quoted, i. 119.
 Honduras, British colony, ii. 219.
 Hong Kong, British colony, ii. 238.
 Hore, voyage of, ii. 4.
 Houtman, Cornelius, leads Dutch expedition to East Indies, i. 216, 309.

Hudson, Henry, explores Hudson's Bay, ii. 50.
 Hudson's Bay, taken by England, i. 383.
 Hudson's Bay Company, organization of, ii. 50; in nineteenth century, ii. 107-108; sells lands to Canada, ii. 113.
 Hume, quoted, ii. 16 n.

I

Iceland, Denmark's relation to, ii. 280; government of, ii. 281.
 Imperialism, as illustrated by Venice, i. 178; by England, ii. 273-274.
 "Indented servants," in French West Indies, i. 393; in New England, ii. 43.
 India, English oppression of, ii. 70; early English government of, ii. 70; reorganization of government by Pitt, ii. 71-72; reformation of government of, ii. 255-256; English struggle for complete subjugation of, ii. 257-258; Robert Peel's reforms in, ii. 265-266; present-day government of, ii. 268; statistics, ii. 269 *et seq.*
 Indian Affairs, Board of, *see* Casa de Contratacion.
 Indies, Royal Council of, i. 243, 254, 267; *see* East Indies and West Indies.
 Ionia, description of, i. 92.
 Ionians, migration of, i. 90, 91; union of, with Æolians, i. 97.
 Ireland, Alleyne, quoted, ii. 204, n.
 Isaac, Emperor of Orient, reinstated by Venetians, i. 173.
 Italic colonies, rights of, i. 132-133.
 Italy, settlement of, by Pelasgians, i. 103; partition of, i. 143; method of colonization of early republics, i. 143-144; Abyssinian troubles, ii. 307, 308; protectorate of, over Ethiopia, ii. 308; possessions of, in Somaliland, ii. 308-309; loss of Abyssinia, ii. 309; colonial statistics, ii. 309-310.
 Ivory Coast, occupied by France, i. 417.

J

Jacoma, cartographer, i. 205.
 Jamaica, rebellion in, ii. 205.
 Jamestown (Va.), founded, ii. 17.

Java, settled by Dutch, i. 309; coffee raised in, i. 324-325; sugar-cane introduced, i. 325; insurrection in, i. 343; coffee trade, i. 344, 347; coffee trees planted, i. 344; political organization, i. 346; development, i. 347 *et seq.*

Jayne, *see* Jacoma.

Jenkinson, Anthony, voyage to Russia, ii. 5.

Jesuits, *see* Canada, Spain, the Philippines, and the Antilles.

K

Kafiti, probably first inhabitants of Cyprus, i. 52.

Kefâtiû, *see* Kafiti.

Kwang-Chau-Wan Bay, lease to France, i. 459.

L

Labor in Cuba, i. 283; in Porto Rico, i. 291; in the Philippines, i. 297; in the Antilles, i. 426; in the British West Indies, ii. 212; in Mauritius, ii. 213, 225.

Labourdonnaï, governor-general of Mauritius, i. 411.

Lagos (Africa), British colony, ii. 240, 241.

Land question, *see* various localities.

Las Casas, bishop, i. 240, 256.

Latin colonies, rights of, i. 132; number at the end of the Republic, i. 134.

Law, John, i. 381, 399.

Legaspi, Miguel Lopez de, first governor of Philippines, i. 293; death of, i. 294.

Lemnos, settled by Greeks, i. 90; taken by Turks, i. 185.

Lepanto, bought by Venetians, i. 183.

Leptis, settled by Sidonians, i. 56.

Leroy-Beaulieu, his classification of races, i. 20; quoted, i. 192, ii. 45.

Lesbos, colonized by Achæans, i. 91; plundered by Venetians, i. 171.

Liby-Phœnicians, origin of, i. 73.

Limakong, his attack on Manila, i. 294.

Lisbon, supplants Venice commercially, i. 211; forbidden to trade with Low Countries, i. 216; occupied by Napoleon's army, i. 226.

London Company, chartered, ii. 17.

Louisiana, purchase of, i. 272; as a French colony, i. 382.

Lucca, vanquished by Pisans, i. 146; bought by Florence, i. 153.

Lycia, settled by Greeks, i. 98; government of, i. 99.

Lycians, influence of Greek immigrants on, i. 98; career as a nation, i. 99.

M

Macedonia, settled by Chalcidians, i. 102.

Machanath, *see* Palermo.

Macquarie, Lachlan, his administration in Australia, ii. 120.

Madagascar, settled by French, i. 405; vicissitudes of, i. 441; recent disturbances, i. 442, 443; formally annexed by France, i. 443; statistics, i. 443.

Madeira, possibly first reached by an Englishman, i. 203; discovered by Portuguese, i. 204.

Magellan, his discovery of straits, Ladrones, and Philippines, i. 293.

Mago, Carthaginian general, i. 75.

Maine, settlement of, ii. 26-27.

Malabar, shores occupied by Dutch, i. 319.

Malacca, taken by Portuguese, i. 211; by the English, ii. 235.

Malta, settled by Phœnicians, i. 56; occupied by Carthaginians, i. 75; early history of, ii. 223-224; cession to England, ii. 224; statistics, ii. 224.

Manhattan Island, purchased by Dutch, i. 351.

Maritime colonies, *see* Roman Colonies.

Marquesas Islands, taken by France, i. 417.

Marseilles, settled by Phœnicians, i. 113;

clash with Carthaginians, i. 114; early importance of, i. 114.

Marshall Islands, German possession, ii. 299.

Martyr, Peter, quoted, i. 246.

Maryland, settlement of, ii. 30.

Mashonas, war with England, ii. 192.

Maspero, quoted, i. 43-44.

Massachusetts Bay colony, colonial

- administration of, ii. 23; friction with home government, ii. 24; struggles with Indians, ii. 25, 26; *see also* New England.
- Massilia, *see* Marseilles.
- Matabeles, war with England, ii. 192.
- Mauritius, annexed by France, i. 407; sugar industry of, ii. 213; present condition of, ii. 225.
- Mayflower*, arrival off Plymouth, Mass., ii. 22.
- Mayotte, occupied by France, i. 417; statistics, i. 435.
- Media, its government of dependencies, i. 45; relation to contemporary empires, i. 48.
- Mediterranean Sea, "a Greek lake," i. 85; early importance, i. 199; effect of discovery of America on trade of, i. 200.
- Megara, prominence of, in colonization, i. 116.
- Melbourne, founded, i. 128, 129; population of, ii. 154.
- Melos, colonized by Phœnicians, i. 54; settled by Greeks, i. 90.
- Mexico, taken by Cortez, i. 235; revolution of, i. 271.
- Miletus, ancient commercial centre, i. 93; settlements of, along the Black Sea, i. 116.
- Mina, settled by Portuguese, i. 207.
- Minorca, taken by Genoese, i. 160.
- Miquelon, *see* St. Pierre.
- Mississippi Bubble, i. 381; effect on population of Canada, i. 381; *see also* Law, John.
- Moluccas, settled by Dutch, i. 309; other settlements made in, i. 317; English establishment at Amboyna, i. 318; sugar-cane introduced, i. 325.
- Montreal, founded, i. 369.
- Moors, defeat of by Spain, i. 238.
- Motya, occupied by Phœnicians, i. 56.
- Mozambique, visited by Vasco da Gama, i. 208.
- Mytilene, importance of, i. 96.
- N
- Natal, British colony, ii. 181; statistics, ii. 182-183.
- Natives, treatment of, *see* various localities.
- Naucratis, city in Egypt, founded, i. 116.
- Navigation, influence of, on colonization, i. 4-5; art of, in fifteenth century, i. 203.
- Navigation Act, ii. 46, 58-59, 75.
- Naxos, settled by Chalcidians, i. 108.
- Negropont, taken by Turks, i. 185; *see also* Eubœa.
- Neleus, Greek leader, emigration of, i. 91.
- Netherlands, statistics, i. 355; *see* Dutch.
- New Amsterdam, founded, i. 351.
- New Brunswick, taken by England, ii. 107.
- New Caledonia, taken by France, i. 417; as a colony, i. 456-457.
- New England, name adopted, ii. 35; government of proprietary and conquered colonies, ii. 37-38; of charter colonies, ii. 38-39; causes of prosperity, ii. 40; "indented servants" in, ii. 43; English maladministration, ii. 46 *et seq.*
- Newfoundland, taken by England, i. 383, ii. 107.
- New France, *see* Canada.
- New Granada, *see* Colombia.
- New Guinea, England's entry into, ii. 146-147; statistics, ii. 147.
- New Hampshire, settlement of, ii. 28.
- New Jersey, settlement of, ii. 32.
- "New Laws," of Charles V, i. 245.
- New South Wales, body of convicts sent to, ii. 83; development of, ii. 128-129.
- New York, under English rule, ii. 32-33.
- New Zealand, early history of, ii. 136; first English settlement in, ii. 136; development of, ii. 137; Wakefield's work in, ii. 137; division of, ii. 145; reunion, ii. 145.
- Non, Cape, superstition regarding, i. 203; doubled by Portuguese, i. 204.
- Northwest, territories of the, ii. 106; company of, ii. 107-108.
- Noasi-Bé region, occupied by France, i. 417; statistics, i. 435.
- Nova Scotia taken by England, i. 383, ii. 107.

Nyassaland (Africa), British protectorate, ii. 252.

O

Obok, taken by France, i. 417.
 Ogane, King, i. 207.
 Olympic games, their influence, i. 121.
 Olynthus, city, organizes a league, i. 103; conquered by Philip II, i. 103.
 Open sea, doctrine of, i. 310.
 Ophir, discovered by Tyrians, i. 60.
 Orange Free State, formation of, ii. 174, 183; annexed by England, ii. 184-185; former government of, ii. 185; statistics, ii. 185.
 Orange River Colony, *see* Orange Free State.
 Orient, emperor of, sells territories, i. 184; empire of the, taken from usurper by Venetians, i. 173; taken second time by Venetians, i. 174.
 Orinoco, ceded to Dutch, i. 386.
 Ormus, Portuguese expelled from, i. 318.
 Ostia, founded, i. 133.
 Ottawa, chosen capital of Canada, ii. 105.

P

Pæstum, founded, i. 106.
 Palermo, occupied by Phœnicians, i. 56.
 Pamphylia, settled by Greeks, i. 98.
 Panionium, Æolian meeting-place, i. 96.
 Papua, *see* New Guinea.
 Parkman, F., quoted, i. 376-377.
 Patras, bought by Venetians, i. 183.
 Payne, quoted, i. 297.
 Pedro, Dom, proclaimed emperor of Brazil, i. 227.
 Pelasgians, advent of, i. 86-87; migration of, to Italy, i. 103.
 Pennsylvania, settlement of, ii. 31.
 Persia, disdain for trade, i. 47; relation to contemporary empires, i. 48.
 Peru, taken by Pizarro, i. 136; Spanish population in 1546, i. 246; casts off Spanish yoke, i. 271.
 Pharos, settled by Greeks, i. 90.
 Philip II, effect of his succession on Dutch, i. 303.

Philip V (of Anjou), ascends Spanish throne, i. 266.

Philippine Islands, discovery of, i. 226, 293; ownership disputed by Portugal, i. 293; vicissitudes of, i. 294; church in, i. 295; products of, i. 295; revolts in, i. 295; commerce in, i. 296; statistics, i. 297; taken by Admiral Dewey, i. 298.

Phœnicia, described, i. 49; first of colonizing nations, i. 49; earliest settlements in, i. 50; overcrowded condition of, i. 51; development of navigation in, i. 53; colonizes Rhodes, Thera, Melos, and Cythera, i. 54; development through colonization, i. 54-55; founds trading stations, i. 54; commercial greatness of, i. 55, 59; trade, aim of conquest, i. 55; treatment of conquered nations, i. 55; founds Hippo, Utica, Carthage, i. 56; occupies Motya, Rus Melkarth, Soloeis and Machanath, i. 56; settles Sicily and Malta, i. 56; founds Cadiz, i. 57; colonial policy, i. 61, 66; government i. 62-64; slavery, i. 64; colonial administration, i. 65; invaded by Babylon, i. 65; neglect of defences, i. 65.
 Phœnicians, settle Spain, i. 57.

Pisa, i. 145; invests Amalfi, i. 145; conquers that city, i. 145; origin of, i. 146; founds colonies, i. 146; overcomes Lucca, i. 146; period of prosperity, i. 146-147; subjugates Sardinia and Sicily, i. 146; clash with Genoa, i. 147; decline of, i. 147; defeated by Genoese, i. 147; fall of, i. 147; colonizing privileges in Holy Land, i. 159.

Pisidia, settled by Greeks, i. 98.

Pizarro, takes Peru, i. 236.

Plymouth colony, settled by Puritans, ii. 22; early government of, ii. 22-23; merged in Massachusetts Bay colony, ii. 23.

Pondicherry, settled by French, i. 406; days of prosperity, i. 407; lost and regained, i. 409-410.

Port Arthur, ii. 292 n.

Porto Bello, i. 261.

Porto Rico, i. 291; government in, i. 291; slavery in, i. 291; statistics, i.

- 291; welcome to United States troops, i. 292.
- Port Royal (Canada), 369 n.
- Port Royal (Carolinas), founded, i. 364.
- Portugal, beginnings of maritime enterprise, i. 202; colonization begun, i. 204; Mina settled, i. 207; colonial domain in 1540, i. 211, 212; effects of commercial facilities on European markets, i. 212 n.; unprincipled dealings with natives, i. 213; colonies seized by Spain, i. 215; throne usurped by Philip II, i. 215; freedom regained, i. 218; reign of John, Duke of Braganza, i. 218; colonies chiefly commercial, i. 219; arms deemed necessary in commerce, i. 220-221; commercial methods, i. 220; decline of industries with colonial extension, i. 221 and n.; colonial government in the East, i. 222; collapse of Eastern colonial system, i. 222; partition by Napoleon I, i. 226; royal family escapes to Brazil, i. 226; colonial statistics, tables, i. 228, 229; list of colonial possessions, i. 228.
- Poseidonia, *see* Paestum.
- Prester John, *see* Ogane, King.
- Prince Edward Island, taken by England, ii. 107.
- Providence (R.I.), settlement of, ii. 27.
- Ptolemies overrun Cyprus, i. 38.
- Pûanit, conquered by Egypt, i. 35.
- Punic War, first, causes of, i. 77.
- Purry, John, his theory of colonization, i. 336.
- Pyrrhus, invades Sicily, i. 77.
- Q
- Quebec, founded, i. 369.
- Quebec Act, passed by English Parliament, ii. 51.
- Queensland, becomes separate colony, ii. 144.
- R
- Races, classified by Leroy-Beaulieu, i. 20.
- Raleigh, Sir Walter, first expedition, ii. 6.
- Religion, bond of, between Greek colonies and parent state, i. 120.
- Renaissance, in Venice, i. 190.
- Réunion, *see* Bourbon, Isle of.
- Rhegium, founded, i. 106.
- Rhode Island, settlement of, ii. 27-28.
- Rhodes, colonized by Phœnicians, i. 54; settled by Dorians, i. 94; captured by Venetians, i. 171.
- Rhodesia, Northern, South Africa Company's ownership of, ii. 252.
- Rio Negro, ceded to Portugal, i. 386.
- Rogers, Samuel, quoted, i. 191-193.
- Roman colonies, privileges of, i. 132; number of, at the end of the Republic, i. 134.
- Rome, why successful in retaining colonies, i. 127; first era of colonial activity, i. 128; land rather than sea power, i. 128; method in territorial acquisition, i. 128; colonial policy difficult to inaugurate, i. 129; colonization, secondary consideration in national affairs, i. 129; confiscation of lands of defeated foes, i. 130; dictatorial policy in colonization, i. 130; methods of colonizing, i. 130; pre-imperial colonists, civilians, i. 130-131; formation of a colony, i. 131-132; colonies classified, i. 132-133; military colonies, i. 133, 136; plebeian colonies, i. 133; lists of colonies, i. 133, 134; close of first era, i. 135; commencement of second, i. 135; triumvirate establishes military colonies, i. 135; civilizing influence of colonies, i. 137; diffusion of nationality, i. 137; need of colonies, i. 137; achievements by the plough rather than by sword, i. 138; dissemination of culture, i. 138.
- Rome (city), citizens' attachment to, i. 129.
- Roxbury (Mass.), founded, ii. 23.
- Royal Council of the Indies, *see* Indies, Royal Council of.
- Rus Melkarth, *see* Heraclea.
- Russia, annexation of Alaska by, ii. 290; activity of, in improvement of domains, ii. 292; concession in China, ii. 292 n.
- S
- St. Christopher, island, taken by D'Enambuc, i. 389; Jesuits in, i. 392.

- St. Domingo, settled by French, i. 392.
 St. George, Bank of, i. 161.
 St. Helena, British colony, ii. 73, 232.
 St. John's, Newfoundland, founded, ii. 6.
 Ste. Marie, statistics, i. 435.
 St. Mark, remains of, transferred to Venice, i. 167.
 St. Nicholas, his body taken by Venetians from Pisans, i. 171.
 St. Paul de Loanda, chief slave market, i. 223.
 St. Pierre and Miquelon, statistics, i. 433.
 St. Thomas (West Indies), Danish colony, ii. 284.
 Salem (Mass.), founded, ii. 23.
 Salonica, purchased by Venetians, i. 184.
 Samoa, the Germans in, ii. 295 *et seq.*; disagreement of powers over, ii. 296-297; statistics, ii. 297-298.
 Samos, importance of, i. 93; plundered by Venetians, i. 171.
 Sarawak, English protectorate, ii. 237-238.
 Sardinia, colonized by Tyrians, i. 56; occupied by Carthaginians, i. 75; subjugated by Pisans, i. 146.
 Schenigo, subdued by Venetians, i. 183.
 Scipio, victorious at Carthage, i. 79.
 Sea, Open, doctrine of, promulgated by Dutch and English, i. 310.
 Senegal, settled by French, i. 412; development, i. 437.
 Sharp, Granville, philanthropic scheme of, ii. 241.
 Siceli, anti-Greek league of, i. 110.
 Sicily, discovered by Phœnicians, i. 56; Carthaginian struggle for, i. 75; invaded by Pyrrhus, i. 77; first settlers, i. 107; natural advantages, i. 113; subjugated by Pisans, i. 146.
 Sidon, i. 52.
 Sidonians colonize Cyprus, i. 52; colonize Crete, i. 52, 54; settle Leptis, i. 56.
 Sierra Leone, body of English convicts sent to, ii. 83; British colony, ii. 240, 242.
 Singapore, ceded to England, i. 344; its importance, ii. 235.
 Slavery, as a factor in colonization, i. 64; in Phœnicia, i. 64; in Cuba, i. 282; in Porto Rico, i. 291; non-existent in Dutch colonies, i. 337; in Dutch Guiana, i. 354; in the Antilles, i. 396; in French colonies, i. 425; in North America, ii. 18, 43, 44; in British West Indies, ii. 198.
 Slavery, Abolition of, passage of Wilberforce bill in England, ii. 172; effect in South Africa, ii. 173; abolition of, in British West Indies, ii. 198 *et seq.*; in Zanzibar, ii. 251.
 Slaves, mistreatment of, in British West Indies, ii. 203.
 Slave trade, beginning of, i. 205; spread of, i. 223; with Cuba, i. 261-282; abolished in English colonies, i. 281, ii. 198; in Cuba, i. 282; in French colonies, i. 426; by Denmark, ii. 285-286.
 Smyrna, importance of, i. 93.
 Solocis, occupied by Phœnicians, i. 56.
 Solomon Islands, Germany's annexation of, ii. 298.
 Solomon, King, aids Tyrians, i. 60.
 Somali Coast, taken by France, i. 417.
 South Africa Company, possessions of, ii. 194-195.
 South African Republic, *see* Transvaal.
 South Australia, *see* Australia, South.
 Spain, Ancient, settled by Phœnicians, i. 57; mineral wealth of, i. 57-58; passes into hands of Carthage, i. 78.
 Spain, Modern, colonization divided into four epochs, i. 231; awakening after Columbian discovery, i. 235; Brazil lost, i. 236; extent of empire in sixteenth century, i. 236; declared legal owner of discoveries by papal bull, i. 236; church in the New World, i. 239; inducements offered to colonists, i. 241; early colonial policy, i. 241, 244, 269; colonial misrule begins, i. 245; corruption of colonial governors, i. 245; expense of colonial government, i. 247; encomiendas, i. 247; restrictions on emigration, i. 247; treatment of aborigines, i. 248; neglect of agriculture, i. 250; municipal government

- in early colonies, i. 250-251; suicidal administration of the colonies, i. 251 *et seq.*; caste in the colonies, i. 252; colored colonists declared white by royal patent, i. 253; discord among colonists, i. 253; audiencias, i. 254; vice-regal office in, i. 254; extent of empire in sixteenth century, i. 255; Jesuits' work in colonies, i. 256; salaries of officials, i. 256; work of missionaries in the colonies, i. 256-259; increase of industries with colonial activity, i. 260; system of colonial trade, i. 260-262; intercolonial commerce proscribed, i. 262; foreigners excluded from colonies, i. 263; "red tape," death of colonial enterprise, i. 263; penalties for misdemeanors in colonies, i. 264; forswearing of manual labor in, i. 265; decline of colonial power sets in, i. 266; English permitted to trade with the colonies, i. 266; ban on intercolonial commerce removed, i. 268; monopoly of colonial trade partly abandoned, i. 268; effect of American Revolution on colonies, i. 270; decline of the priesthood in colonies, i. 270; loss of American possessions, i. 270 *et seq.*; reasons for colonial decadence, i. 273-274; tardy development, i. 274; present-day possessions, i. 298; why colonies were lost, i. 298-299.
- Spice Islands, discovered, i. 211.
- Spices, Dutch trade in, i. 326; Dutch monopoly broken, i. 333; evil effects, i. 326-328.
- Strabo, quoted, i. 58.
- Straits Settlements, British colony, ii. 235; statistics, ii. 235-236.
- Succession, War of, i. 266.
- Sugar, introduced into the Moluccas, i. 325; into the Antilles, i. 394; into Barbados, ii. 55.
- Sugar industry, in Cuba, i. 280, 283; in Java, i. 325; in Guiana, i. 355, 426; in the Antilles, i. 397, 429; in Réunion, i. 426; in Barbados, ii. 55; in British West Indies, ii. 202, 209, 210 *et seq.*; in Bermudas, ii. 223; in Ceylon, ii. 227; *see also* Sugar Question.
- Sugar question, in Cuba, i. 279-283; in the Antilles, i. 426, 428-430; in Réunion, i. 433; in British West Indies, ii. 210 *et seq.*; in Mauritius, ii. 213; *see also* Sugar Industry.
- Sulu, Sultan of, defeats Spaniards in Philippines, i. 294.
- Sumatra, discovered, i. 211; taken by Dutch, i. 344; revolt of Sultan of Acheen, i. 348.
- Surinam, *see* Guiana, Dutch.
- Surinam, Company of, i. 353; collapse of, i. 354.
- Swan River, *see* Australia, Western.
- Sweden, colonization of, in America, ii. 286-287; emigration from, ii. 289.
- Swedish East India Company, formation of, ii. 286, 287, 288.
- Sybaris, founded, i. 105.
- Sydney (Australia), foundation of, ii. 118; growth, ii. 122; population, ii. 154.
- Sylla, first to found military colonies, i. 133.
- Syracuse, invested by Carthaginians, i. 76; foundation of, i. 108; at the pinnacle of fame, i. 110; defeats Athens, i. 110; population of, at time of downfall, i. 112; prosperity of, i. 112; overcome by Rome, i. 112.

T

- Tarentum, founded, i. 106.
- Tasmania, settlement of, ii. 134.
- Tea, first imported by England, ii. 65; industry in Ceylon, ii. 227.
- Thera, colonized by Phoenicians, i. 54.
- Thorne, Robert, of Bristol, ii. 3.
- Thule, discovered by Pythias of Marseilles, i. 114.
- Thurium, founded, i. 106.
- Timoleon aids Syracusans, i. 111.
- Togoland, Germany's invasion of, ii. 244.
- Trade, relation to colonization, i. 4-5; beginnings of, i. 31.
- Transvaal, origin of, ii. 185; England's annexation of, ii. 186; revolution of 1880, ii. 186; recognition of, by England, ii. 187; Dr. Jameson's raid, ii. 187; war of 1899-1900 with

Transvaal, continued:—

England, ii. 188; statistics, ii. 189;
see also Boers.

Tristan da Cunha, ii. 233.

Tunis, becomes French protectorate,
 i. 451.

Turkey, possessions of, ii. 316.

Tyre, settles Hadrumetum, i. 56;
 builds vessels at Eziongeber, i. 60;
 foundation of, i. 62; fall of, i. 66.

Tyros, *see* Tyre.

U

Uganda (Africa), British colony, ii.
 249-250, government of, ii. 250.

United Kingdom, *see* England.

United States, effect of Revolution of
 on Spanish colonies, i. 270; inter-
 ference in behalf of Cuba, i. 289;
 colonizing activity of, ii. 292-293;
 Samoan troubles, ii. 296-297.

Utica, foundation of, i. 56.

Utrecht, Treaty of, i. 266.

V

Van den Bosch, governor-general of
 Java, i. 345, 346.

Van Riebeck, makes settlement at
 Cape of Good Hope, i. 320.

Vasco da Gama, *see* Gama, Vasco da.

Veglio (island), leased by Venice, i. 185.

Venezuela, popular demands on Span-
 ish government, i. 271; declaration
 of independence, i. 271.

Venice, colonizing privileges in Holy
 Land, i. 159; aids Franks in con-
 quest of Constantinople, i. 161;
 probable origin, i. 166; adopts St.
 Mark as patron, i. 167; commence-
 ment of navigation, i. 167; salt and
 glass industry, i. 167; advantageous
 position of, i. 168; commercial activ-
 ity, i. 168; alliance with Eastern
 Empire, i. 169-170; Doge becomes
 Duke of Dalmatia, i. 169; list of
 cities under suzerainty of, i. 169 n.;
 necessity for expansion, i. 169;
 fleet for first crusade, i. 170; part
 taken in crusades, i. 170-175; men-
 aced by Eastern Empire, i. 171;
 enviable position in 1198, i. 172;
 furnishes transportation for fourth

crusade, i. 172; reinstates Isaac,
 emperor of the Orient, i. 173; num-
 ber and extent of colonial posses-
 sions, i. 174; extent of, in 1206, i. 175,
 later, i. 188; second time takes
 Empire of the Orient, i. 174; colo-
 nizes Corfu and Crete, i. 176; devel-
 opment of political institutions, i.
 176-178; government of dependen-
 cies, i. 176-177; grandees usurp right
 to elect Doge, i. 177; control of
 Adriatic commerce, i. 178; Council
 of Ten created, i. 178; embarks in
 fifth and sixth crusades, i. 178;
 imperial policy, death of domestic
 liberty, i. 178; defeated by Genoese
 (1298), i. 179; annihilates Genoese
 fleet, i. 179; destroys Genoese trad-
 ing colonies in Black Sea, i. 179;
 excommunicated, i. 180; prestige
 broken, i. 180; truce with Genoa,
 i. 180; defeated by Turks, i. 181;
 embroiled in Italian politics, i. 181;
 city shaken by earthquake, i. 181;
 stricken by plague, i. 181; takes a
 number of Italian cities, i. 181; sub-
 dued by Louis the Great of Hun-
 gary, i. 182; recovers Dalmatia and
 Croatia, i. 183; secures trading privi-
 leges from King John I of Portugal,
 i. 183; takes Negropont and Crete
 from Turks, i. 184; zenith of glory,
 i. 184; at war with all Italy, i. 185;
 commerce, basis of success, i. 185;
 survey of causes of prosperity, i.
 185; four commercial squadrons of,
 i. 186; war galleys used as mer-
 chantmen, i. 186; protectionist pol-
 icy, i. 187; rents fleets to highest
 bidders, i. 187; colonial empire of, i.
 188; industries of, i. 189; prosperity
 of, i. 189-190; colonial greatness, i.
 190; culture in Renaissance period,
 i. 190; decline of, i. 191; surrender
 to Napoleon, i. 191; causes of decay,
 i. 193; compared with China, i. 194;
 short-sighted policy, i. 194.

Venice, National Bank of, i. 190.

Vera Cruz, i. 262.

Verde, Cape, doubled, i. 206.

Vermont, settlement of, ii. 28.

Verrazano, voyage of, 363.

Virginia, Raleigh's attempts to colonize, ii. 6-7; first slaves imported, ii. 18; organization of colonial government, ii. 19; Bacon's rebellion, ii. 20; slaves declared real estate, ii. 20.

Von Ranke, quoted, i. 124-125.

W

Waerwijck, Admiral, founds Dutch colonies in East Indies, i. 316.

Wakefield, Edward Gibbon, his theory of colonization, ii. 130; his work in New Zealand, ii. 137.

Wei-hai-wei, ii. 328 *n*.

West, Company of, charter granted to, by Louis XIV, i. 372.

Western Australia, *see* Australia, Western.

West Indies, division of, by France and England, i. 398, ii. 57; early English colonization in, ii. 53; effect of American Revolution on trade of, ii. 59; decline of, ii. 60; later English colonies in, ii. 196; abolition of slavery, ii. 198; sugar

trade, ii. 202; mistreatment of slaves, ii. 203; sugar legislation for, ii. 209; annual exportation of sugar to England, ii. 210 *et seq.*; foreign accessions to population of, ii. 212; sugar statistics, ii. 214; condition of liberated slaves in, ii. 215-216; present-day government, ii. 219; statistics, ii. 220 *et seq.*; *see also* Antilles, French, and names of various localities.

Weymouth, settlement of, ii. 23.

Wilberforce Bill, passage of, ii. 172.

William and Mary renew charter of New England colonies, ii. 26.

Williams, Roger, settlement of, in Rhode Island, ii. 27.

Willoughby, Sir Hugh, his voyage in search of northeast channel, ii. 4.

Z

Zante, leased by Venice, i. 185.

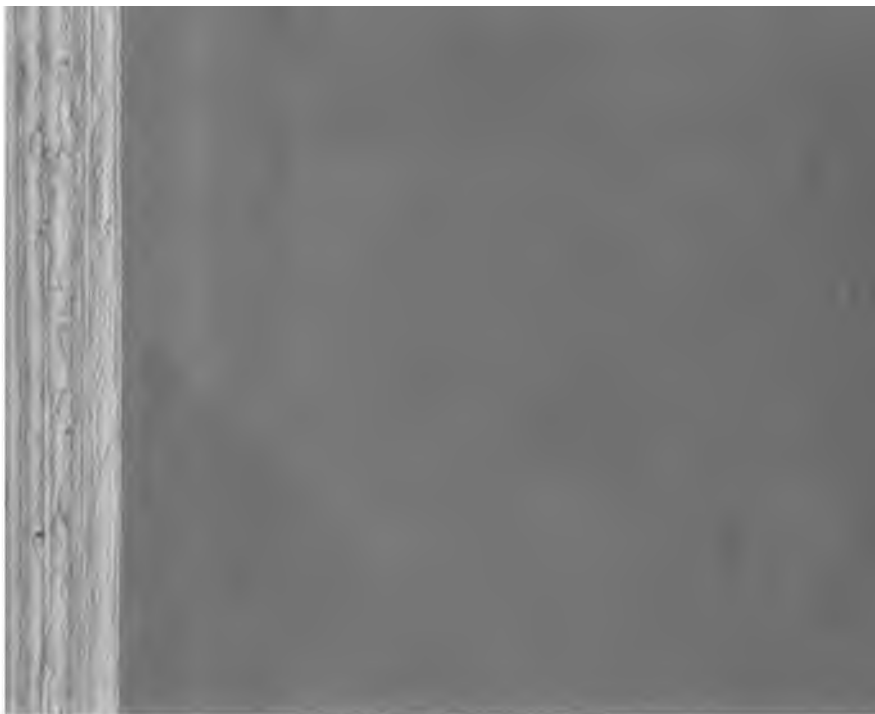
Zanzibar, British protectorate, ii. 251; statistics, ii. 251; abolition of slavery in, ii. 251.

Zulu War, ii. 176-177.









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